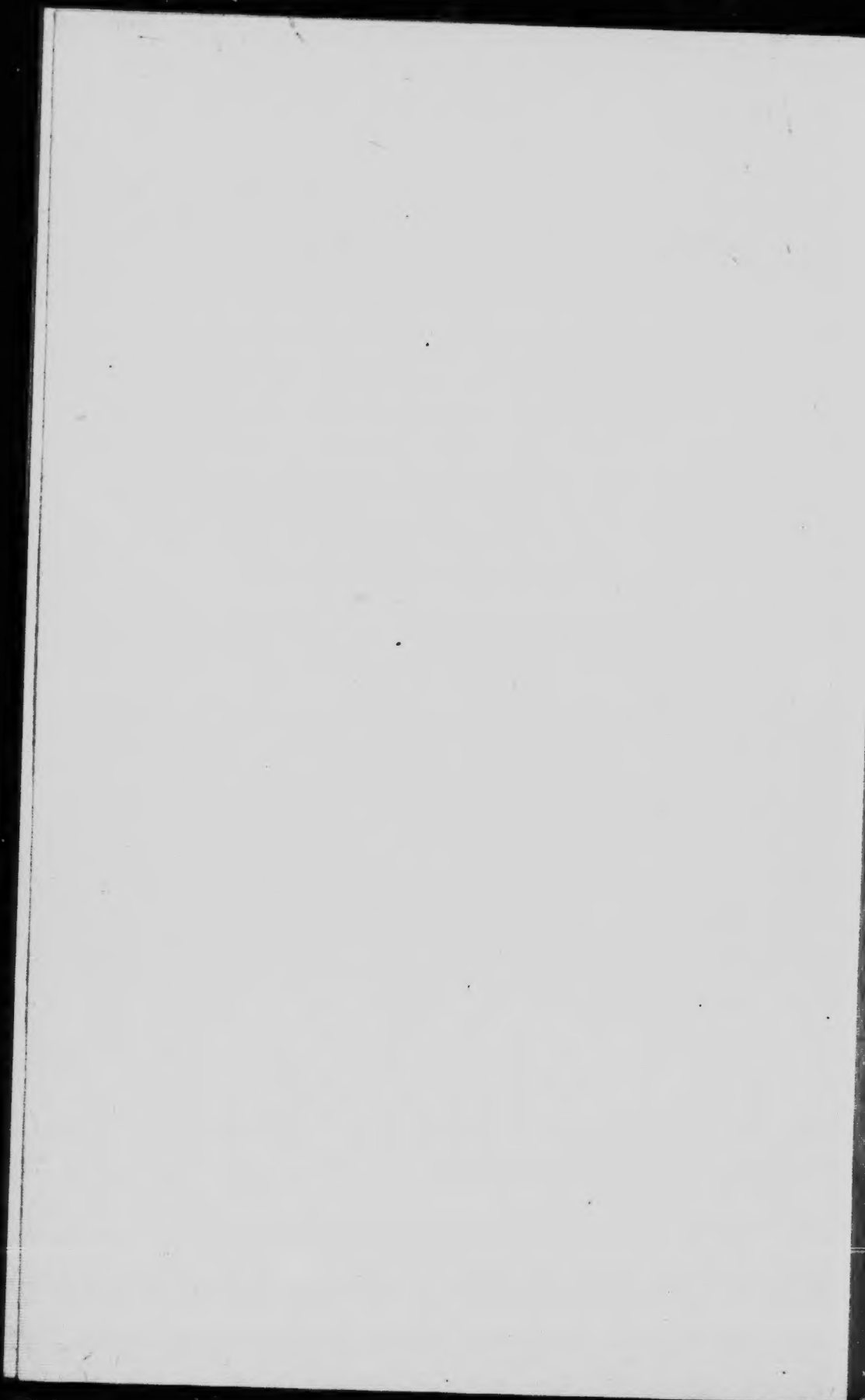


WAIFS AND STRAYS



WAIFS AND STRAYS

Being a collection of some sermons,
some lectures, essays, etc.

OF

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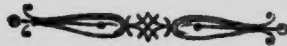
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PART SECOND
LECTURES

WAIFS AND STRAYS

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION NECESSARY TO THE HOME, TO THE FAMILY AND TO THE STATE

BY Christian education we mean the inculcation of Christian doctrine and Christian morality into the minds and hearts of children simultaneously with their purely secular training and culture in the school. Christian education implies a reverence for God and the inspired teachings of the Bible, a recognition of Christian symbols and of all that Christianity holds sacred, the study of the catechism and the recital of Christian prayers in the school.

This question deeply concerns the State, and interests all our citizens whether they be Christians or infidels. It is true that infidels might object to having their children forced to learn Christianity in the school. Their case is an exceptional one in a Christian country and deserving of exceptional consideration, for the rights of conscience and of parents

must always be respected. But the case of infidels, in regard to education, is only a side issue in a Christian state, and does not directly bear on our subject. We are writing to Christians in a Christian republic. Our subject is limited to the necessity of religious education for the stability of such a republic ; and by religious education we mean Christian education.

But firstly we must answer some preliminary questions. What is the State ? What is its purpose ? Upon what does its stability depend ?

The State is a union of a multitude of independent men for the purpose of more easily and more effectually procuring their common safety, prosperity and progress. But as these human beings have been created by God and endowed with reason, the civil society which they form must have God for its ultimate purpose, since He is the final end of all rational beings. In civil society He is the indirect and ultimate, while in the Church He is the direct and proximate end of mankind. That God is the immediate end which the Church has in view follows from her mission, which is to save souls : that is, to unite them to Him here and hereafter. The end of

the State is the same, although more remotely attainable. Temporal happiness is not the final destiny of man. God never intended the temporal to be anything more than a preliminary means of eternal felicity. He owns and directs human nature with all its faculties. The State is God's, for it is the result of desires, aspirations, propensities and necessities implanted by Him in the human heart. The State therefore can and should have for its ultimate aim the carrying out of the divine plan and purpose. Therefore to obtain the temporal happiness of the community is the direct aim of the State, while to obtain the eternal happiness of mankind is the direct object of the Church. The same man who belongs to the Church belongs to the State. He is a one and indivisible person. He cannot be split into two moral parts. His obligations are various, but he has only one personality and only one moral responsibility. The Church was made for him by God and imposed on him with the obligations of belief and obedience. The State man made, but subject to God's laws and purposes. If man should dare to make a State hostile to God, man and the State would be in sin and out of harmony with the divine plan, which is simple, hier-

archical and uniform. Besides the State made by man can have no ultimate end different from man who made it, — God, the creator of all, the conservator of all, and the ultimate end of all. The two distinct but not separate purposes of the Church and of the State do not legally conflict with each other. On the contrary, they are ancillary to each other. To attain its purpose, the State must be secure and prosperous; secure from physical and moral evils, and prosperous because of good government, wise laws, respect and protection of mutual rights and by the promotion of all that tends to the comfort of the people. The State's right to action is not merely negative, limited to protecting the community from physical and moral evils. Its action must be also positive. It must promote the welfare of the people by furthering everything conducive to their temporal happiness. The State must not only punish the murderer and the thief, protect by quarantine and sanitary inspection the public health, but it must make general improvements, build roads and bridges, promote commerce, industry and whatever else may tend to insure the happiness of the community. Since this temporal happiness of the people is the purpose of the

State, the attainment of that happiness must be the aim of all civil rulers. Towards that goal they must steer the ship.

But on what does this temporal happiness depend ? It depends not only on those things in the physical order which we have just enumerated, but chiefly on certain things in the moral order which can be found only where the Christian religion is the soul that animates the body politic. The chief of these conditions are three—respect for law, respect for right and respect for the sacredness of an oath. Law, right and an oath are the trinity of human ethics affecting all the private and social relations of human life. Without respect for them, friendly intercourse, business, or commerce would be impossible among men. But law, right and an oath have no foundation without the sanction of religion ; and therefore religion is necessary to the State. Consequently the State must protect religion. In furthering the interests of religion the State is helping to perpetuate its own existence. A short analysis of the nature of a law, of a right and of an oath, will show this clearly.

A law is a rule of action for man or an ordinance of reason for the commonwealth,

promulgated by the power which has the right to govern the State. A law implies a superior who has the right to make it and through it to impose an obligation on an inferior. But from a purely human legal standpoint no man is superior or inferior to another. Our American Declaration of Independence asserts that "all men are created equal." This proposition is not universally true ; but it is true in face of the civil law. Who then creates the superior ? Citizens indeed elect him and put him in office, by virtue of which he may impose fines on delinquents, incarcerate or put to death the violator of the law. But these penalties are all external. They are merely human and cannot touch the inner and hidden forum of conscience. No man of himself can impose an obligation there ; no human power can invade the sacred precinct of the intellect or the sanctuary of the will. God alone can do that. He is the only superior who by right of creation and absolute ownership can impose obligations on the intellect and will of man, and make him conscious of guilt or sin. Where there is only external sanction to law it will always be purely penal. In that case man will have no guilt to fear but only discov-

ery. God must stand behind the human lawgiver to give sanction to his enactments. If the origin of law were in man alone and went no higher, it could never oblige conscience, which is a law unto itself, a lawgiver and a sovereign to itself, admitting no human superior. Man will never oblige himself to curb his inclinations or to restrain his passions, except through fear of a power higher than himself. Conscience bears witness to the fact that the true sanction of law is in God and not in man. Fear of the man in authority begets indeed external obedience in the subject ; fear of the penalty forces submission ; but the realization of guilt as a consequence of infraction of law comes from a higher source, from belief in the existence of a Supreme Judge of right and wrong, of things lawful and unlawful ; of a Judge who can scrutinize the secrets of the heart and punish even internal transgressions. Just as the existence of contingent, that is, of changeable, finite, limited and imperfect beings, implies the existence of a necessary, immutable, infinite and all perfect cause, so the existence of secondary laws and secondary legislators implies the existence of an eternal law which is promulgated by an eternal and

supreme Legislator, the source and sanction of all law. The eternal law, we feel, is imposed on us from without, independently of human action, and obliges us because it is from God. He himself has said : " By Me kings reign and lawgivers decree just things " (Proverbs viii., v. 15). Duty and obligation are not derived from any human law, but from its conformity with the eternal law. For the law to be obligatory must be just and rational, as its very definition implies, " an ordinance of reason for the common good. " If the law be just and rational, although merely human, it partakes of the eternal law which is supreme reason ; and by the eternal Legislator the obligation of obedience is stamped on the human conscience.

The same line of argument holds good in regard to right and the obligations of justice. What is a right but the moral power to do some act, or to obtain or to retain something ; an inviolable power which none can lawfully oppose, but which all are bound to respect ? To every right there corresponds a co-relative duty, not only in him who possesses the right, but also in those against whom he enforces it. Thus the right to property implies the obligation in the owner of not abusing it, and in the

community of not taking it away from him without legal compensation. But all right, like all law, has its root in God. The first human rights are the rights of parents over their children. These rights are from God and limited by his ordinances. *Parents are not the absolute owners of their children.* The parent must not kill the child ; not because the child has any innate right which the parent is bound to respect, but because God forbids murder. If the parent were the absolute owner of the child, the parent could put it to death to escape the burden of its support. A child considered without relation to God has no right in the eyes of an infidel parent to life or to support. Did not and do not pagans still murder their children on the false belief that children are the absolute property of their parents ? We must look to the God of Christians then, as the source of the rights and duties of parents and of children.

So it is with other human rights, as, for instance, with the right to property. The foundation of this right is in the natural law. But this law is the voice of the Creator speaking in the human heart. Since all men are created equal, in a legal sense, how can any one of them claim a special right which his

neighbors are bound to respect unless it be granted by the Creator? He is the first being and the first cause. Men and their rights are His products, for He created them. The natural inequality among them is from Him. The difference between mine and thine is lawful, because God has decreed and sanctioned it, not because men admit it.

A third condition necessary to the stability of the State is respect for the sanctity of an oath. Without regard for this sanctity courts of justice become a farce and the crime of perjury will be common. Witnesses having no God to fear, no future punishment to dread, will swear falsely whenever their perjury cannot be detected or whenever their interests or their passions require it. God and religion alone can efficaciously influence conscience. "Men swear by one greater than themselves and an oath for confirmation is an end of all their controversy," says St. Paul (Hebrews vi. 16). Hence in the code of laws given by God to Moses on Sinai, the logical and real connection of human right with divine laws is clearly laid down. The priority of the divine is asserted in the First Commandment: "I am the Lord thy God." Because He is the Lord God men are forbid-

den to take His name in vain, and are commanded to keep holy one day in the week in His honor. Thus are the rights of God first declared and established. After them comes the assertion of human rights : " Honor thy father and thy mother. " " Thou shalt not kill. " " Thou shalt not commit adultery. " By these commandments the rights of persons and especially of the family are protected. " Thou shalt not steal ; " here we have the palladium of the right of property. " Thou shalt not bear false witness ; " by this, perjury and defamation of character are prohibited. But all these prohibitions derive their sanction from the First Commandment : " I am the Lord thy God. " Being the Lord and Creator, He imposes laws which bind the human conscience. To show this more forcibly He prohibits in the last two commandments even acts purely internal, which no human eye could see and of which no human tribunal could ever take cognizance : " Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife. " " Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods. "

God is thus the fountain of all right and of all law. Take him away and the State can make no law which binds in conscience, and

is thus deprived of the influence of religion enforcing justice ; an influence more potent than the fine, the jail or the scaffold. Thus then, the infidel is logically an anarchist because he denies the value of law in denying the existence of the Legislator who is the source and sanction of law. The anarchist asserts a doctrine directly opposite to that of St. Paul, who says : " Let every soul be subject to higher powers ; for there is no power but from God, and those that are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation " (Rom. xiii., 1) ; and " Where there is no law there can be no transgression. " says the same apostle (Rom. iv., 15).

The infidel should also logically be a socialist. The socialist denies the right of private property ; the land socialist denies to any individual the right to own even so small a portion of the earth as would be sufficient for a grave plot. The socialist is right if there be no God, for no man can derive the absolute right of anything from his own powers. Even the right to the products of labor is based on the right to own the raw material on which labor is employed. But the raw material is

God's. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" (Psalm *xxiii.*, 1). He created it; and no man has the right to a bit of it unless in virtue of the exigencies of his nature or from direct concession from God. The natural law from which is derived the primary right to private property is but the voice of nature. But the voice of nature is the voice of Him who created nature. Man does not own himself, the creator owns him.

If, therefore, anarchy and socialism, the two greatest foes of the stability of the State, are the logical outcome of infidelity, it follows that the antidote for infidelity is necessary for the stability of the State. Now what is this antidote if it be not an education in which the principles of Christianity are inculcated? Anarchists and socialists, themselves, recognize in Christian education the greatest obstacle to the realization of their plans, and consequently they make war on it and rejoice when they find among Christians misguided allies who seem not to see that they are undermining the State when they attack the Christian school. Even in a community brought up as Christian, vice and error will powerfully assert themselves, and constant care and watchfulness are required to prevent

the evil from overcoming the good. The tail of original sin is in human nature. In spite of the influence of the Christian school and the Christian Church, the rebel vices of humanity fill the prisons with their victims. But if the conservative influence of Christian education be taken away, how much more rapidly will the pestilential microbes multiply in the body politic ! " For if in the green wood they do these things, what shall be done in the dry ? " (LUKE XXIII., 31).

It is true that this education might be divorced, as it sometimes is, from secular education, and be given in the school before or after school hours, or in the home, or in the church. But such a mode of proceeding would be wrong in principle. In such a system religion would not get the place to which its dignity and importance entitle it. Religion would become in the mind of the child an accidental, instead of being considered a substantial and essential part of his training. If religion be necessary to the stability of the State, as we have shown, why should the teaching of religion be expelled from the school in which young citizens are being formed ? Can any Christian hold that the knowledge of God and of Christian morality

is of less consequence to the young citizen than a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic? Does not the knowledge of God and obedience to His laws elevate man's intellect, spiritualize his mind and help to control his evil inclinations and passions; inspire him with respect for his superiors, with charity for his fellowmen and love for his country? Have not the greatest patriots been those who were taught in Christian schools that it is a sacred duty to die for one's country? How can a man be true to his friend, to his family, or to his country, if he be not true to his God, who is the source of every moral obligation in the family and in the country? Will not the examples of both male and female patriots recorded in the Bible—of Deborah and Judith; of Jonathan, and David, and the Maccabees; of our Lord, himself, weeping over Jerusalem—fill the minds of the young with love of the flag that symbolizes the glory and the honor of their native land?

If religion be taught only before or after school hours, the study of it becomes an odious task added to the pupil's daily toil. Religion then grows to be as distasteful to him as the unnecessarily strict observance of the Puritan

Sunday became to the young New Englander, who, in consequence, frequently grew tired of his father's religion, threw it away and became a rationalist. Religious duties are not holiday clothes to be worn only on festivals. God rules and governs mankind every day as well as on Sunday; every hour of the day as well as before the opening and closing of the school. What will children think of religion if the law forbids the mention of it or the study of it during the most important hours of the day?

Besides, in the home it is often impossible for the parents, especially if they are poor and have many children, to find the time necessary for religious instruction. The hard working father has often to labor late into the night, and the overworked mother of a large family is not equal to the task. The duty of Christian education to be properly performed requires virtue, intelligence and leisure. But in the parents either one or all of these conditions is often lacking. Moreover, there is no more reason why religious education should be exclusively confined to the home than that secular education should be exclusively given there. Why should religious education in a Christian community be rele-

gated to the home and a ban put on it in the school, as if Christianity were something despicable or of secondary importance? The family gives character to the State. Is not the Christian home the model home, and the Christian State the model state, and are not both the fruit of Christian education? We grant that Christianity should be taught in the home and in the church, but it should not be restricted to those places and banished from the school. If the catechism must be taught only in the home, why not limit the teaching of reading and arithmetic to the same place and thus abolish the school altogether, and take off the burden of taxation for education? This would be in accordance with the theory of many able American writers and statesmen, who have held that the State has not the right to assume the role of an educator, as such a role is beyond its competence.

The school is a supplement to the home and an annex to the church. The schoolmaster represents the parent and the priest represents Christ. Both schoolmaster and priest are therefore bound to teach the knowledge of God to their charge. Religion should find a sanctuary in the home and in the school as well as in the church, for in these three

places are souls made by God to know and love Him here on earth and afterwards, keeping His laws, to enjoy Him forever in Heaven. The rights of God know no geographical boundary. The more of this religious education the child obtains, the better it is for soul and body. His knowledge of God helps to make him a man of virtue and virtue is not only good for the soul but also for the body. The virtues of the pure and temperate man bring happiness to himself and benefit all who come near him. Thus, then, religious education blesses the individual and the family, and consequently the State, which is their creature. The citizen cannot be divorced from the Christian in the same individual.

Whenever nations have lost religious convictions they have decayed. The acme of their greatness was that of their religious belief, for there is even in false religions a recognition of the Supreme Being, Who rewards those who obey and punishes those who violate the laws. Even amid the superstitions of paganism the sanction of laws by a Supreme Being, upon whom all depended, inspired respect for them among the people. Hence no great lawgiver ever made a code of

laws for the government of a nation without recognizing God and religion as essential elements to the sanction of the laws. Solon, Lycurgus and Napoleon acclaimed God and religion. Contempt for the gods and decay of patriotism kept pace in the history of pagan nations. The nation might make the laws; but religion loaded, aimed them at the goal, and made them effective.

The Hebrew people became weak and were sold into slavery when they neglected to serve God. In Christian nations, those show most signs of dissolution in which traitors to Jesus Christ are the most numerous. Infidelity, by destroying the responsibility of man to God, enervates character. It is universally true as an historical fact that nations obedient to the laws and observances of religion ever produce the bravest soldiers, the most law-abiding citizens and the most devoted patriots.

This universal fact also argues the necessity of religious education for the prosperity and stability of the State.

The Christian religion as the noblest and the grandest of all has created a superior type of manhood. The Christian type is divine: the God-Man Christ. Under the influence of His invigorating and sublime teaching, civili-

zation has progressed and man has advanced morally and mentally. Where Christian education is general, children in the school are trained from their earliest years to reverence God, love their fatherland and to respect their neighbors and themselves. Two symbols in the school are put before their eyes as having claims on their loyalty : the crucifix, the symbol of their religion, to stimulate their faith, and the flag of their country to rouse their patriotism.

Christian teachers, in correcting the vices, mistakes, or short-comings of their scholars, find the application of religious principles a powerful aid in the arduous task. The young human animal with undeveloped intelligence and strong appetite, requires the curb and the check to break him into obedience and respect for law. The most potent curb and check on growing passions is the moral law based on the doctrinal code of Christianity. Without its controlling influence, genius or talent is like a blooded steed without a bridle or a rider. The State is therefore unjust to the teacher when it prevents him from appealing to religion as a means of preserving order and discipline in school, and forces him to hide his religious convictions in the dis-

charge of a sacred duty. It is also unjust to the child who is thus deprived of the beneficial influence of religion, during so many hours, days and years of his young life. He is deprived of the most timely opportunity for the cultivation of Christian faith and virtue, so necessary to sustain him in the struggle with the temptations of after life.

The moral training of early youth influences for good the whole life of the man. As the inspired writer puts it : " A young man according to his way, even when he is old, he will not depart from it " (Proverbs xxiii., 6).

The mysteries of Christianity are the foundation and the incentive of private and public morality. Since Christians believe that the Son of God became man, suffered and died for the salvation of mankind ; that He shed His blood for the remission of their sins and that all are, in consequence of the mystery of the Incarnation, the adopted sons of God and the brothers of Jesus Christ ; that whatever is done for the poor is done for Him ; that Christians are the temples of God and the dwelling places of the Holy Ghost ; they are filled with charity towards their fellowmen and strongly impelled to cultivate virtue and abstain from crime and iniquity.

Our ancestors understood the importance of this training of children, and consequently always taught Christian doctrine in the schoolroom. In New England in the olden time the schoolmaster was usually a theologian or the minister of a parish, and the schoolmistress was his wife. The New England "hornbook" or primer, the first book put into the hands of the child, was chiefly of a religious character (1). Two-thirds of the pictures in it "represented biblical incidents," and the reading lessons consisted chiefly of the "Lord's Prayer," "the Creed," "Watt's Hymns" and the whole of the Protestant Catechism. (2) It concluded with the benediction: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you evermore, Amen."

A writer, George H. Martin, in the *New England Magazine* for November, 1893, tells us that while he was a boy he was obliged to learn in the public school in Massachusetts "The Westminster Shorter Catechism," and that he "wondered" what a longer one

(1). History of the People of the United States, by John Bach Mc Master. Vol. I, pp. 10-22.

(2). Idem, Vol. II, p. 570.

could be like. He also quotes a contract made in those days with a teacher of a grammar school in Roxbury. This contract compelled the teacher "to use his best skill and endeavor, both by precept and example, to instruct the children in all scholastical, moral and theological discipline." After the primer, the boys in New England were compelled to study the Psalter and the Bible ; the only books necessary "till they go to college." The public schools were all Christian in those days.

The schools, says this writer, "were under the constant and vigorous supervision of the ministers. The minister visited the school regularly ; sometimes he questioned the children on the sermon of the preceding Sunday ; he regularly examined the children in the catechism and in a knowledge of the Bible." So the children were perpetually enveloped at home and at school, week days and Sundays, in an atmosphere saturated with religious forms and ideas and services and language. The law of 1789 in Massachusetts embodies the spirit of all her former school traditions. This law breathes Christianity in every line. Section XV : "It shall be the duty of the president, professors and tutors

of the University at Cambridge and of the several colleges, of all preceptors and teachers of academies and of all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavors to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety and justice and a sacred regard to truth ; love of their country, humanity and universal benevolence ; sobriety, industry, frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance ; and those other virtues which are the ornaments of human society and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded ; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavor to lead their pupils as far as their ages and capacities will admit into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-named virtues, to preserve and perfect a republican constitution and secure the blessings of liberty as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices. " The patriots of Massachusetts showed by this law that they knew that the Christian virtues were necessary to the stability of the State ; consequently that the young citizens should begin early to learn them in all the schools of the State. Oh, that we had

again public religious schools as in the days of the virtuous Puritans !

The early Dutch settlers rivaled their New England brothers in zeal for religious education as a necessary part of public education. Up to the time of the English occupation of New Amsterdam the branches generally taught in school were reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism of the Dutch Church. When the English came into power in New-York, they also taught religion in their schools. The standard studies were similar to those of the Dutch schools : reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism of the English Church. (1) "In 1789 the Legislature of New York set apart certain portions of the public lands for gospel and school purposes. "

(2) In the year 1806 the trustees of St. Peter's Catholic School, which had been founded in New York City in 1800, applied to the State Legislature for a portion of the school money proportioned to the number of scholars. The assemblymen and senators of those days were so thoroughly convinced of the advantage of Christian education that in

(1) *Encyclopedia of Education* (Kiddle and Schem, New York 1877), page 636.

(2) *Idem*, page 637.

spite of their anti-Catholic prejudices, they voted the appropriation by a large majority. "In the senate there was only one vote against it." (1) The people of that period had strong religious convictions. The orthodox and conservative spirit of the first settlers had not been watered with the foreign infidelity which has been gradually making inroads upon the Christian faith of the country. Even so late as thirty years ago the great leader of the Republican party, William H. Seward, had the courage to sustain Archbishop Hughes in his fight for Christian schools. There were few citizens at that time who would agree with the teaching of the late superintendent of our public schools that "the intellect is not to be cultivated by means of religious instruction." (2) The idea of a public school without religion would certainly not have been tolerated by the Americans of Washington's time. Foreign masonry, foreign infidelity and home bigotry have been among the chief causes to weaken the love of the American people for the old-

(1) *History of Catholic Churches of New York*, by John Gilmary Shea, page 597, published by Goulding.

(2) *Encyclopedia of Education* (Kiddle and Schem), page 731. Mr. Kiddle became a spiritualist. Mr. Schem was not a native American.

fashioned Christian school. That was the school in which Washington and his soldiers had studied. Did their Christian faith weaken their love of their country, or render them less fit to be freemen than those who eliminate God and religion from social life? History answers no. Washington, like the true gentleman, the true Christian, the true patriot that he always was, considered religious education necessary to the stability of the State.

In his "farewell address," in which he pours out his heart in love for his country and his fellow citizens, we read these words of solid sense and patriotic wisdom: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. Let it be simply asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of jus-

tice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

“Tis substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?”

What could be clearer than these immortal words? What excuse, then, can certain misguided citizens make who, by driving God and religion out of the school, drive them out of the mind and heart of the young American? Should they not blush to charge Catholics with foreignism for putting into practice the advice of the Father of His Country and perpetuating the true American tradition of the union of religion and science in the school? If he were to come back to life again would he not grieve to see the State schools drifting farther and farther from religion and

becoming more and more secularized through influences hostile to Christianity and to the true interests of the republic, which he had done so much to establish? He would see anarchy and socialism looming up in the distance as a consequence of this decadence of education and threatening the safety and stability of our free institutions. Loud professions of patriotism or of loyalty to the flag could not deceive him. He would look for the solid virtue and the firm religious convictions which were the basis of his own and which are the basis of all true patriotism. These principles and that virtue he would find inculcated in the parochial school; the same principles and the same virtue which adorned the character of his well-tryed Catholic friends, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore, and the gallant John Barry, the first commodore and founder of our navy. Washington would find in these schools proficiency equal to that of the wellpaid State institutions; unselfish and untarnished patriotism among these loyal Americans. Catholic Americans make great pecuniary sacrifices because with him they believe that "of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, reli-

gion and morality are indispensable supports ; " because with him they cannot " indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion ; " because with him they believe that " virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government " and that " reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. "

Oh that some great American statesman would arise to reassert the views of Washington and Seward ; to champion Christian faith, to insist that the school shall become again Christian, and thus to keep our free institutions safe from the onslaughts of infidelity, socialism and anarchy !

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE FACULTY
AND STUDENTS OF COLGATE (BAPTIST)

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AND Jesus came into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi; and He asked His disciples saying: Whom do men say the Son of Man is? But they said: Some, John the Baptist, and others, Elias, and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. Jesus said to them: But whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answering said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answering said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven." Matt. xvi, v. 13-18.

The question of the divinity of Christ is a question of fact, and, therefore, must be proved by proper testimony. The principal testimony in this case is found in the four Gospels,

and to that testimony I shall chiefly confine myself.

Four histories of the life and works of Christ have been written respectively by four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. These histories have been accepted as authentic and veracious by the most intelligent men in the world and have come out unscathed from the fire of the most searching and inquisitive criticism. They presuppose the Old Testament, make a coherent whole with it and are the fulfillment of its types and figures. The Evangelists differ in accidentals, some omitting what others insert, but they agree in detail, better than other historians who have written the story of the lives and of the deeds of the great men of the world. The authenticity and veracity of the Gospels are proved by documentary and other evidence. Their reliability is manifest to any one who reads them. They bear the stamp of sincerity and honesty on every page. The writers narrate what they had seen and touched. (1) To them Christianity traces its origin through a thousand channels in documents, in monuments and institutions,

(1) 1. John 1, 1

up to the very time of the Apostles. What the Evangelists relate is corroborated by the testimony of pagan writers. Tacitus and Pliny, Celsus, Porphyry and the Alexandrian School who assailed, as well as Paul, Peter and the others who defended the teaching of Christ, bear witness to the most important historical facts recorded by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. These historians, profane and sacred, assert that Christ was an extraordinary person who lived, preached and died in Judea; who declared Himself to be God and whose disciples persuaded the world to adore Him as God.

The very existence of Christianity and all the wonderful changes effected by it in the laws, morals, customs and habits of men, prove the existence of its Founder and the veracity of the historians who wrote the record of His life. The civilized world has been converted from idolatry and polytheism in the name of Christ. In that name laws and institutions have been changed and in that name millions of the most enlightened people on the earth have for nineteen centuries curbed their passions and made sacrifices of their pride and of their sensuality. Influenced by that name countless missionaries have

devoted their energies and sacrificed their lives for the conversion of unbelievers to Christianity. Now these effects imply the existence of Christ, of His teaching and of His power ; for it is as true in history as in philosophy that there can be no effect without a cause, and that the cause must be adequate to the effect. Who can explain the existence of Christianity if Christ never existed? I shall not waste time with those who deny His existence and call the Gospels works of fiction. Even the most famous champion of the "myth" theory admits that Christ was an historical personage. Strauss says that Christ was a myth only in the sense that the imagination of the people embellished His character and life with poetic additions. But this infidel does not allege a syllable of proof for his statement and his method of argument would destroy all historical certainty.

Having established the historical truth of the Gospel narrative concerning the life and actions of Christ ; from that narrative, considered merely as human testimony, I shall show that He was what the General Council of Nicæa, A. D., 325, declared Him to be : " Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten Son, begotten of the Father,

that is from the substance of the Father, Jesus Christ is the God of God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things, both in heaven and on earth, have been made."

In this declaration, Arius and his followers were condemned for denying the fundamental dogma of our common Christian heritage, a dogma in all its fullness so tersely and beautifully expressed in the Creed which goes by the name of Athanasius, the great champion of the orthodox faith against the Arians of the fourth century. "This is the true faith," says the Athanasian Creed, "that we should believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is both God and man. He is God, begotten from the substance of His Father before the ages; and man, made from the substance of His Mother and born in time; perfect God and perfect man; subsisting in a rational soul and human flesh; equal in divinity to the Father but, in His humanity, less than the Father. And although he is God and man, yet he is not two but only one Christ."

Of the many arguments which prove this dogma of the divinity of Christ, I shall select only four: the first, from the statements of

the Evangelists corroborated by the additional testimony of the other writers of the New Testament ; the second, from the prophecies and miracles of Christ, especially His Resurrection ; the third from His own words and His character as portrayed by the sacred historians ; the fourth, from the admission of His enemies. The occasion requires that I should treat these arguments briefly.

Matthew, in the text which I have quoted in the beginning, clearly asserts the divinity of the Master who conversed with Peter. Instead of reproving, Christ blesses the apostle for professing faith in that divinity. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona ; because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. " John teaches the same doctrine in the most sublime passages that were ever written by human pen. " In the beginning was the Word and the Word was God. " Through the Word all things were made, and without Him nothing was made. This Word is the origin, and source of all life, and light, and truth. " In Him was life and the life was the light of men. " He " was the true light which enlighteneth every man coming into the world. " This divin Person became man and dwelt amongst

us and was known by the name of Jesus Christ. John reiterates these declarations of Christ's divinity and ends his work by saying that he wrote it that we might "believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, we might have life in His name." (1)

According to Matthew, who quotes Isaias, Christ is Emmanuel or God with us. (2) John the Baptist declared that he was not worthy to loose the latchet of Christ's shoes. (3) Martha calls Him the Son of the living God. (4) The Centurion who saw Him die, exclaimed: "Indeed this was the Son of God" (5); and Thomas who had at first doubted the Resurrection, adores Him and exclaims on beholding the places of the wounds: "My Lord and my God." (6)

Three of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, and Peter, in one of his epistles, (7) cite the words of the eternal Father Himself, testifying to the divinity of Christ. Matthew records the fact, after the account of Christ's baptism, in these words: "And, behold, a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well

(1). John xx, 31. (2.) Matt. i, 8. (3) Luke iii, 6-17. (4) John xi, 27. (5) Matt. xxvii, 24. (6) John xx, 28. (7) Peter i, 17.

pleased. " (1) On Mount Tabor, according to Luke, the Eternal Father repeated the same words ; (2) and Peter, who was a witness of the wonderful transfiguration of Christ on that Mount, says he heard the words : " This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased ; hear ye Him. " " And this voice we heard brought from heaven, when we were with Him in the holy Mount. " (3)

Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, teaches (4) that Christ, according to the flesh, is an Israelite, but, at the same time, " over all things, God blessed forever. " In his epistle to the Colossians, (5) he says, speaking of Christ : " In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead corporally. " To the Phillippians, he writes : (6) " In the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth and under the earth ; " and to the Hebrews : (7) " God having spoken at different times and in many ways, in time past, to the fathers, by the prophets ; last of all in these days hath spoken to us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the world. " Indeed all the books that follow after the

(1) Mark I, 11 ; Matt. III, 17. (2) Luke IX, 35. (3) Peter I, 17-18. (4) Romans IX, 5. (5) Colos. II, 9. (6) Philip. II, V. 10. (7) Hebrews I, 1-14.

Gospels from the Acts of the Apostles to the end of the New Testament, contain passages affirming the divinity of our Lord.

The next argument is taken from the prophecies which He made, and the miracles which He performed. Among the many prophecies which might be adduced it will suffice to note that He foretold His own death and resurrection, and spoke of the future as if it were as familiar to Him as the present and the past. His prophecies were fulfilled. He Himself appealed to His miracles as proof of His divinity : " But I have a greater testimony than that of John. For the works that I do give testimony of Me. " (1) He cured all manner of diseases, mental and physical. To the disciples of John, making inquiry as to His character, He said : " Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen ; the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are made clean, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, to the poor the Gospel is preached. " (2) These miracles were witnessed by multitudes of people of all classes and conditions. It would be difficult to prove any fact in a court of justice more clearly than some of these miracles were proven ; for instance, the res-

(1) John v, 36. (2) Luke vii, 22.

toration of sight to the blind man (1) and the resurrection of Lazarus, (2) as related in the Gospel of St. John. These miracles show Christ's divine power. The command to Lazarus to come forth from the grave : "Lazarus, come forth," could only have been made by one who controlled both life and death. What fact is better attested than that of Christ's resurrection, the greatest of all His miracles ? He had again and again prophesied it and hence His enemies had taken every precaution to prevent it. But the very means which they took to nullify the prophecy, became one of the chief proofs of its accomplishment. After His resurrection, He lived forty days on earth. (3) During that time he was seen repeatedly by hundreds of people, with whom He held conversation. He ate and drank with them, and allowed doubting Thomas to touch the places in His body where the wounds had been made.

Paul, the learned Jew, who originally hated the very name of Christ and persecuted His followers, tells us that there were more than five hundred witnesses who had seen the Risen Christ. (4) This Apostle, the most

(1) John ix, 2. (2) Idem xi, 43.

(3) Acts i, 3. (4) Cor. xv, 6.

voluminous writer of the Epistles of the New Testament, lays particular stress on the Resurrection as a proof of the divinity of Christ. "But now Christ is risen from the dead, the first fruits of them that sleep." (1) "If Christ is not risen again, then is our preaching vain and your faith is also vain." (2) In a similar strain write all the other apostles. Even the enemies who crucified Christ bore unwilling testimony to His resurrection. Their fear to investigate the pretended negligence of the soldiers whom they had set to watch the sepulchre, and their failure to investigate the charge of theft against the apostles, showed the hopelessness of an attempt to discredit a miracle which the guards had seen and publicly announced. The attempt to bribe them to lie about the fact was unsuccessful. Augustine thus sharply exposes that attempt. "Oh, unlucky cunning, what is it you say? You stoop so low, and so basely betray truth as to say: that while you slept the disciples stole Him away. So you want us to believe sleeping witnesses. If they were sleeping, how could they see? If they could not see, how could they be witnesses?" (3) We must therefore believe the

(1) I. Cor. iv, 20. (2) I. Cor xv, 5. (3) Comment on Psalm 62.

facts narrated by these sacred writers who were of different characters and prejudices ; who wrote at different times and under different circumstances, and yet agree in the same substantial statement for the truth of which they were ready to offer up their lives. The prophecies and miracles which they record evidently establish the divinity of Christ.

Another proof of His divinity, is that He declared Himself to be God, and that this declaration is shown to be true by His character. In the text at the head of this discourse, He blesses Peter for calling Him the Son of the living God. He presented Himself to the world as the true Son of God. Philip on one occasion said to Him : " Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us." Jesus saith to Him : — " He that seeth the Father seeth Me also. How sayest thou, show us the Father ? Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in Me ? " (1)

To the Jews, He declares that He is greater than Solomon and greater than the Temple, (2) greater than Moses or Abraham, (3)

(1) John xiv, 8-10.

(2) Matt. xi, 42 and xii, 6. (3) John viii, 46 and 56.

greater than John the Baptist. (1) He calls Himself the Lord of the Sabbath. (2) He claims the power to forgive sins, and He forgives them ; (3) and in a score of texts of Scripture, He assumes to speak and act as a divine person.

To Nicodemus, a master in Israel, He said : "For God so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son : that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but may have life everlasting." (4) When the people asked Him if He was the Christ, He said to them : "The works that I do in the name of the Father, they give testimony of Me ;" (5) and in the same chapter which records these words, He asserts His consubstantiality with the Father : "I and the Father are one." The Jews threw stones at Him for saying this. They called His language blasphemous, because, said they : "Thou being a man makest thyself God." But He neither retracted nor qualified His emphatic declaration that the Father and He were one. Called before the tribunal of His country to be judged by the civil and religious judges of the people,

(1) Matt. xii, 10-11.

(2) Matt. xii, 8. (3). Luke v, 24 and Matt. ix, 2.

(4) John iiii, 16-18. (5) Ibid. x, 26.

He again asserted His divinity. When the greatest of the Judges, the high priest, adjures Him by the living God to say whether He is the Son of God or not, He answers : " I am. " For saying this, they pronounce Him at once guilty of blasphemy and condemn Him to death.

It is a well authenticated historical fact, therefore, that Jesus Christ, privately and publicly, to intimate friends, to the multitude, and before the legal tribunals of Judea, proclaimed Himself to be the Son of God. He could have saved Himself from Crucifixion by retracting His assertion, or by saying that He meant it in a poetic sense only, in the sense in which we are all sons of God. But He did not retract and was put to death for believing in His own divinity. No greater proof of sincerity could be given than this.

These declarations, viewed in the light of His teaching, life and character, plainly prove that He was God.

Christ's character, mental and moral, is shown in His words and acts ; in His teaching and His practice. His sublime intellect shines out on every page of the New Testament. He spoke as never man spake before. He taught as one having authority, and not as the

Scribes and Pharisees. He speaks of divine things as one coming direct from God's palace and accustomed to them. Profound as are many of the pagan poets and sublime as are the Hebrew prophets, none of them can compare with Christ. His ideas are the germs of all the great principles of modern social science and of modern enlightenment. The seed which He sowed, has developed and blossomed into every form of beauty and beneficence. His lessons have filled the minds of men with grand thoughts ; and their hearts with brotherly love and charity. In His sermon on the Mount, He has in the Eight Beatitudes, said what no one but God could have said : " Blessed are the poor in spirit. " These words alone have transformed the whole social world. They have levelled pride, made power merciful and given dignity to poverty and lowliness. These words have made self-sacrifice and humility, instead of selfishness and pride the pedestals of society. Could a mere man thus change human nature ? Listen to the sublime confidence with which He says : " Whatsoever you shall do to the least of these, My brethren, you will have done it unto Me. " (1) The tone

(1) Matt. xxv, 10.

of the voice that speaks this, is the tone of the voice of God. He is love. Actuated by love, He made the world. Love is the keynote of the existence of rational creatures. God became the Creator of His creatures by love ; and by love He becomes their Redeemer. He alone could dare to teach men to forgive their enemies and do good to those that hate them. Whoever heard of such a doctrine before ? A doctrine repugnant to all the prejudices, inclinations and habits of mankind ; and yet a doctrine that since Christ's sermon, has swayed and controlled the actions of millions. " I am come not for those that are in health, but for those that are sick. " (2) This is the language of the same loving Redeemer who condescends to eat and drink with publicans and sinners, who takes on Himself the sins of the people, and declares Himself God. To the unfortunate woman, God alone could speak as He speaks : " Her sins which are many are forgiven, because she has loved much ". (3) Being God He knew that divine love in the heart of the sinner cancels sin. He made " The Lord's Prayer, " that epigrammatic epitome of perfect worship of the

(2) Matt. x, 12.

(3) Luke vii, 47.

Deity and of perfect petition and supplication to Him. Every phase of that prayer breathes the divine origin of the One who composed it, from the "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name," to the "Lead us not into temptation." In that prayer He taught us to say: "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," and dying on the Cross under insult and injury, He prayed for His enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Could any one less than God have done this?

Every point in Christ's character shows greatness, honesty and sincerity. He was not narrow or sectional, for He taught that all men are neighbors and brothers, and that the common inheritance of truth would make them all free. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." (1) Yet He was the model of patriots. He loved His country and wept over her woes: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee. How often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldst not." (2)

(1) John VIII, 32. (2) Matt. XXIII, 37.

The model friend, He washed His disciples' feet. The model leader of men, He resists the temptations of ambition, and, when His followers would have made Him King, He flies away, hides Himself from them and orders them "to render to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's." (1)

His genius, like His love, was cosmopolitan and universal. In this respect He stands alone. All the other great intellects of history have been dominated by their age, their nationality, and the traditions of their race. The Greek type appears in Homer and Æschylus; the Roman in Tacitus; Dante is Italian; Shakespeare is English; Corneille is French; Goethe is German. But Christ's genius and teaching are neither Jewish nor Gentile. He is above national and racial types. He belongs to the whole of humanity, for He is the Teacher and exemplar of all, irrespective of nationality or condition. His genius as well as His holiness and simplicity of life, make Him the ideal man. His immaculate purity has never been questioned, even by His worst enemies. He challenged them to find a sin in Him. They could never find one. His virtues were as divine as His proph-

(1) Matt. xxii, 21.

ecies and miracles. All that makes the great philosopher, the great legislator, the great statesman, were combined in His character and intelligence.

Christ was the greatest of philosophers, for His teaching has thrown light on all the obscurities of methaphysics. Even Renan says that His genius will never be surpassed. He has made it possible now for a little child with a two-cent catechism of Christian doctrine, to solve problems about creation, the immortality of the soul, the end of man and other mysteries which puzzled Aristotle and baffled the intelligence of Plato and Socrates. No man had solved those problems before Christ. Was He not, therefore, the most profound of thinkers ?

In the light of His moral code, how human, imperfect and vile all others seem. The Brahminism of the Vedas is pantheistic and grossly sensual ; Buddha is fundamentally atheistic : his votaries are either materialists or sceptics. In the works of Confucius, the greatest of the Chinese philosophers, there is no mention of God or of the human soul ; while Mahomet permits polygamy, propagates his new religion with the sword, and makes of heaven a harem of sensual delights. The

more these human philosophies and creeds are analyzed, the more one sees that they are false. They rise, wither, and cease to bear fruit. They are mothers of despotism and immorality, while Christianity is the parent of liberty and purity. How small ordinary statesmen appear when we consider Christ. He has founded an empire that stands in spite of every attempt of enemies from without and from within to destroy it. The organized work of Moses lasted only fifteen hundred years and at the end of that period it was a wreck. The organized work of Christ is almost nineteen hundred years old and is more powerful to-day than it ever was, in resisting the attacks of its enemies and in performing its mission to teach all nations. The constitution and the laws which He gave to it have resisted successfully every persecution. Could they have lived through such warfare if they were merely human, formed by a mere human legislator, philosopher, or a founder of a dynasty ?

Moreover in the character of Christ all is regular and orderly ; all is moderate, sober, and self-restrained. We find no exaggeration, no eccentricity. Prudence and intelligence govern His every word and act. His life and

character are perfect ; His teaching is coherent, logical and flawless.

Contemplating the sublime teaching and the immaculate character of Christ, and considering His doctrines and deeds, Rousseau was forced to say : " If the life and death of Socrates be those of a sage, the life and death of Jesus Christ are those of a God ; " and Napoleon, the greatest military genius of the nineteenth century, in exile at St. Helena, said of Him : " I know men, but I say that Jesus Christ was not a man. " The confession of these men of intellect is that of every honest mind which has studied the life and the character of Christ.

Lastly the very admissions of Christ's enemies offer another proof of His divinity. Celsus said that the miracles of Christ were due to witchcraft which He had learned in Egypt. But Celsus offered no proof of his gratuitous assertion. One could say to this infidel : " How is it that Christ is the only wizard who ever effected so much ? How is it that the Egyptians whom the example and the power of Moses, and the terrors of the ten plagues and constant intercourse with the Hebrews did not convert to Judaism, should become Christians so rapidly under the influ-

ence of a few Christian missionaries ? " All infidels, ancient and modern, admit Christ's wonderful character and works and the extraordinary results of His mission. The old ones like the Arians conceded His greatness of nature and power and said that He was so like to God as to be almost divine. Hence although they denied His consubstantiality with the Father, they admitted a close similarity of His substance with that of the Father. The Mahommedans concede that He was a great prophet. Modern infidels usually rank Him as superior to Moses, to Socrates, or to Solon, and admit that Christianity is the most perfect of all philosophical systems and of all religions, and that the Christian code of laws is perfect as a whole and in all its parts.

Very few of the later infidels dare to ridicule Christ. Most of them treat Him and His doctrines with respect. Bahrdt is the chief buffoon of modern infidelity. We quote him to show how low an infidel may fall. He says that the miracles of Christ were the result of His skill in medicine, which he had learned in a Persian caravan ; that the change of water into wine at the marriage feast at Cana, was only a trick played on the guests by

giving them wine they had never tasted before when they were too drunk to be able to detect the imposture ; that the son of the widow of Naim was not dead, but had fainted and that Christ had brought him out of the faint by giving him camphor ; that our Lord did not walk on the sea, but floated on a log of wood ; and that He fed the five thousand with loaves of bread that He had secretly gathered together in a cave. This clown of infidels has a rival in the lawyer (1) who is now going through the country illuminating with his borrowed wit, the old brass of Celsus and his own tinsel and trying to pass them off as genuine coin on the audiences that nightly pay him the compliment of their applause and their purse. It would require the credulity of an idolatrous South Sea Islander to believe the fairy stories which such infidels substitute for the plain statements of the New Testament.

Bahrtdt has no following now except in the convivial gatherings of Anarchists and Socialists.

Schleiermacher is more dignified. He calls Christ " the Type of men, the typical man in whom the consciousness of God dwelt in

(1) Robert Ingersoll.

absolute power." Beyschlag, one of his chief disciples, calls Him "the ideal man, having only one, namely, a typical human nature, but at the same time divine, because it is the perfect translation of the divine being into the human being." Hase calls Christ the ideal, sinless but not infallible man who had a double plan and changed towards the end of His life the idea of the kingdom of God endowed with external might into a purely spiritual one having nothing of the original conception. Strauss improved on these notions and assumed that Christ was a mythical person but one worthy of admiration as a great genius. The greatest poet that Germany has produced, Goethe, although an unbeliever, calls Christ "The divine man, the saint, the pattern and exemplar of all men." Renan does not differ much from these infidels. In fact his "Life of Jesus," is but a sentimental novel of which the material was stolen chiefly from the rationalistic critics of modern Germany.

It is amusing to note how each of these infidels condemns the other. Paulus laughs at Bahrdt and Reimar; Strauss ridicules Schleiermacher and Schenkel and all ridicule Renan. They attack one another's premises

and conclusions. An assembly of the most learned men of Germany, held at Munich in 1863, characterized Renan's book as "a most superficial and unscientific work whose methods are uncritical and unworthy of the respect of the learned world." Even the infidels of France have ceased to consider Renan's word of value in Biblical literature. Whatever of merit there may be in any of his Biblical works is due to his old professor at St. Sulpice, the learned Abbé Le Hir.

How then can Christ have been a deceiver or have been deceived as some of these infidels assert? If He be the ideal man, the perfect man, he cannot be a deceiver or have been deceived. A deceiver is a bad man. If one makes only an attempt to deceive his fellowmen, especially in matters so important as religion and morals, he is simply an impostor. If Christ is the "ideal man," "the perfect man," "typical man," "the saint," "the pattern and exemplar" of all men, as Goethe and other infidels call Him, how can He be at the same time a liar and a false prophet? How can one whose mental powers are admitted to be superior to those of the greatest philosophers, be at the same time insane and under an hallucination? How can two contradicto-

ries be true ? We know that insanity is never logical or consistent ; but Christ was always consistent and Christianity is the most logical and coherent body of doctrine and laws ever promulgated. How could Its author be insane when the very opposite of insanity is manifest in His life, character and works ? How could a deceiver impose a code of severe and stringent laws on the different races and nations of mankind in opposition to pride, sensuality and every human passion ? How could Christianity withstand the assaults of its Hebrew and pagan enemies and subdue not only barbarians but win the submission of the best intellects of the race, if it were not a coherent, nay more, a divine system ? Would the great logicians of the world have accepted it if it were not logical ? The infidels, therefore, admit more than enough in regard to Christ to warrant the conclusion that He was God.

Some may object, however, that His divinity is a mystery above reason. But that which is above reason is not necessarily contrary to reason. Reason cannot comprehend God and His works. If it could comprehend Him, it would be His equal, and then He would not be God. A god that is no greater than human reason is no god at all. He is Jupiter, or

Bacchus, or Apollo, but not Jehovah or Jesus Christ. Why then deny the divinity of Christ, the God-man, because it is mysterious and incomprehensible ? It is no more incomprehensible than the mysteries of the natural order. There are mysteries in a grain of sand, in the atom floating in the sunbeam, and in the production of animal life. The greatest naturalist never has explained them. The growth of the stalk and ears from the grain of corn ; or the production of a bird from an egg, in their order, are as hard to comprehend as the Incarnation at Nazareth, the wonderful birth at Bethlehem, and the glorious resurrection at Jerusalem. Why should the unbeliever demand more from the theologian than from the chemist, the geologist or the naturalist ? Most of the men who deny the mystery of the Incarnation, admit the existence of God the Creator. Can they comprehend the production of something out of nothing ? No. They accept creation as a fact, although an incomprehensible one. Why then ask more of the theologian than of the philosopher ? The divinity of Christ is an historical fact, resting on historical certainty, which, in its own sphere, is as convincing as physical or metaphysical certainty.

Why do infidels accept without challenge the statements of profane historians and balk in belief only when they come to the sacred writers ? Renan and Strauss admitted the sincerity and the sanity of the old poets, of Homer, of David, of Isaias, and accepted the statements of the old historians, of Tacitus, of Livy, of Cæsar, Thucydides, Plutarch and Xenophon. Why then do they doubt only when they read Moses, or Matthew, or John, or Luke, or Mark, or Paul, or some other writer of Sacred Scripture ? Voltaire, Renan and Strauss would be insulted if any one questioned their sincerity or their sanity, yet which of them can be compared with the writers of Holy Scripture ? These writers hold the first place for sublimity of style, sobriety of judgment, simplicity, clearness, coherency and consecutiveness of thought and expression. Every one admits that the Holy Scriptures are pre-eminent in the literature of all enlightened peoples.

The infidels who assail the divinity of Christ cannot pretend to knowledge and intelligence superior to those of the Evangelists who proclaimed it to the world. The greatest of infidels were pygmies compared to the sacred writers ; and pygmies compared to the

intellectual giants who in every age have adored Christ. The fathers of theology, Polycarp, Clement, Justin, Origen, Gregory, Athanasius, Basil, and Chrysostom among the Greeks ; Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Leo and Gregory, among the Latins ; artists like Raphael and Michael Angelo ; scientists like Newton ; theologians like Thomas Aquinas ; orators like Bossuet ; and poets like Dante, Corneille, and Shakespeare, were among the most powerful intellects of the modern world and all bowed in adoration before Jesus Christ. How insignificant are His assailants, compared to His champions. Some of these infidels would hardly be known if Christian apologists had not recorded their names. Who reads now even the scraps that remain of Celsus ? Who reads Voltaire, the great infidel of the last century ? Few any longer finger the leaves of Strauss, or Renan, a few years ago so popular. Their flimsy works made a temporary sensation like a new *opera bouffe*, and are now gone out of fashion.

Are infidels sincere, when they pretend to assail Christ's divinity on intellectual grounds ? Not always. There is often below the surface of their attack, a reason which they are ashamed to confess. Pascal has well

said that some men would deny the truths of mathematics, if they implied moral obligations. Christ has imposed moral obligations. His doctrines curb the passions of men : and hence " the galled jades " wince. If like Mahomet, the false prophet, Christ had made concessions to pride, ambition and lust, the number of His enemies would doubtless be fewer. But as He is the truth and as truth is one, He can make no compromise with error. His divinity is the corner-stone of faith, hope and charity. It is the light by which His whole life and teaching are explained ; the torch in the hand of the believer who scrutinizes the mysteries of Christianity ; the cause of the moral transformation of the world. His divinity is the explanation of the superiority of Christian over all other forms of civilization ; the source of all the piety, morality and charity of modern times. It is the first plank in the platform of Christian unity ; or rather it is the first principle from which all the other principles of Christian unity may be evolved or deduced. It is the standard around which all Christians must rally ; the Rock which breaks all the wild waves of infidel passion and error. Of our common Christian belief it is the grand

pyramid against which the homeless Bedouins of doubt, wandering through the barren desert of infidelity and scepticism, strike their spears in vain.

THOMAS AQUINAS

A DISCOURSE PRONOUNCED IN THE CATHOLIC
UNIVERSITY AT WASHINGTON,
ON ST. THOMAS' FEAST, MARCH 7TH, 1904,

"The knowledge of a wise man
shall abound like a flood and
his counsel continueth like a
fountain of life." —

Ecclesiasticus XXI., v. 16.

TO form a correct estimate of the great genius and of the beneficent influence on human knowledge of the illustrious Saint, who is the patron of Catholic universities, and who, by the common consent of Catholic theologians, by the acts of General Councils and by the decrees of Supreme Pontiffs, eminent in learning and in virtue, has been acclaimed as the beacon of Catholic orthodoxy for six centuries, we should take a view of the present deplorable condition of theological, of philosophical and of other scientific

theories beyond the pale of the Catholic Church.

If we look, firstly, at the state of one of the fundamental controversies in theology, the question of the veracity and of the inspiration of the Bible, we find the old fortress of Protestant orthodoxy battered to pieces by its own guns. Modern rationalism, based on the gratuitous assumption that the supernatural and the miraculous are impossible, was foreseen long ago by Catholic theologians. They foretold that the principle of Protestantism which made every man his own general council and his own infallible pope in interpreting the Scriptures, would lead to general anarchy in ethical, esthetical and political philosophy, and end in atheism. The facts have verified the prophecy. When Professor Harnack, of Berlin, on the 3rd of last April, in the City of the Supreme Pontiff, and from the very chair renowned for the orthodox teaching of Suarez and of Bellarmine, publicly denied the inspiration of the Bible, rejected all the miracles of the Old and of the New Testament, and asserted that some of its books were written after the death of the Apostles, he was but the logical son and legitimate heir of Martin Luther. The

principle of private interpretation has led Harnack and the modern German school which he represents, to reject the whole, as it had led Luther to reject a part of revelation.

But radical as is non-Catholic theology, it is distanced in the race to ruin by non-Catholic philosophy which has made the attempt to dig up the corner-stone of the whole Christian edifice. What Harnack is to the Bible, Herbert Spencer is to sound philosophy. This able but misguided writer, whom a professor in a non-Catholic university recently called "the greatest philosopher since Aristotle", says that: "The infinite cannot be grouped along with something that is finite, since in being so grouped, it must be regarded as not infinite. It is impossible to put the absolute in the same category with anything relative so long as the absolute is defined as that of which no necessary relation can be predicated"; (1) and from this statement lacking in precision as well as in logic, he infers that the existence of God cannot be proved. But even a superficial perusal of the works of Thomas Aquinas, or of his master in philosophy,

(1) *First Principles*, N. Y., 1888, p. 81.

Aristotle, would have taught the "Philosopher of Derby" better to define and distinguish his terms. Every disciple of the Angelic Doctor, every Christian teaches that we do not know God as well as we know creatures.

Christianity teaches that God is "a hidden God," whose face is veiled from the view of man. A finite intellect can have no adequate idea of an infinite being; and there can be no physical vision of a spiritual being, except he assume a physical form. But what the true philosopher claims is that the study of contingent and finite beings leads to the conclusion that they must have a cause, and that in the chain of causes there must be a first one who is the Creator. Well do the words of Dante apply to the whole school of Agnostics:

"Che quegli e tra gli stolti bene abbasso,
Che senza distinzion afferma o niega". (1)
It was the misfortune of Spencer's youth to have lacked the opportunity of studying Thomas Aquinas or Aristotle. "Il maestro di color che sanno;" (2) the greatest logician that ever lived, is not complimented by being placed in the same category with

(1) «Paradiso» canto XII, v. 115-116.

(2) «Inferno» canto IV, v. 131.

the champion of radical evolution and of agnosticism.

As opponents of God and of Christianity we next meet many of the recent adepts in the natural sciences, the very men who should be foremost in recognizing the existence of the first cause, God. They investigate and study His wonderful works, and they have the best opportunity of arguing from the existence of the visible to the existence of the invisible. They make all their discoveries by following the principle of induction, by reasoning from effect to cause. They admit secondary causes ; why do they not admit the first cause ? Simply because it implies the existence of God Who is necessary to give meaning to the Universe. (1) In a recent resumé of the results of the discoveries of the astronomers, of the chemists, of the biologists, and of the other natural scientists, one of the most competent English authorities declared that they had reduced everything in the universe to two primary factors, the atom, whether substance or force, and ether ; but that they could not tell what the atom or

(1) Spencer admits that although « the absolute » cannot be known yet « its positive existence is a necessary datum of consciousness » — *First Principles*, p. 26.

ether is, or what is the efficient cause of these things. That scientists do not know the inner nature of material things of which they can see only the outside, the modes and the effects, for substance and power are always invisible and intangible ; that they can never explain even the simplest mysteries of nature, from the electric force by means of which men commune across the ocean, propel the heaviest weights on railroads, and with greater rapidity than that of Ariel, put a " girdle round the earth in forty seconds, " to the growth of a blade of grass, or to the hatching of a bird from the egg, we understand ; but we do not understand the position of men of ability who say they cannot see that the atom or force must have either made itself (and if so it is God) ; or that there must have been a God to make it. Rather than admit the latter alternative, they buzz like bees against the panes of an open window, incapable of escaping to the pure atmosphere by the open space over their heads. In vain do they try to explain the origin of life, or the origin of the first atom without a Creator. They are still disputing about an hypothesis, which is gradually becoming more and more discredited as a substitute

for the sound philosophical and theological dogma of creation.

From a false theology and a false philosophy, false systems of esthetics and of politics naturally follow. He who rejects the true logically rejects the good and the beautiful. False esthetics is manifest in the works of the modern Hedonists, who prefer the school of Aristippus to the teachings of Christ as expounded by Aquinas. Whatever pleases the senses or excites the baser passions, whether it be a lewd picture, an immoral play or a morbid plot, a sensational exaggeration, or a seductive falsehood; whatever stimulates prurient attention or captivates disordered imaginations is deemed esthetic by painters, dramatists and novel writers, whose names are on every one's lips and whose works desecrate the homes of art or degrade literature. The forms of art and the graces of style are deemed sufficient to excuse the false, the unreal and the immoral. Even music is seduced by the lying and the lewd siren of modern esthetics into chanting horrible calumnies and cloaking the foulness of falsehoods with sweet harmonies. The false and the impure, say the Hedonists, are justifiable if they can be made attractive to man's sensual nature.

Then stalks abroad false political science, the three-headed Cerberus of socialism, communism and anarchism, with his devouring brood of false systems of government, ignoring right, justice and liberty. Error always percolates from the head downwards. The law of action logically follows the law of belief. The man who says that every individual is his own pope in religion is followed by the anarchist who says that every citizen should be his own ruler in the state. When the Church condemns the spiritual anarchist he attempts to destroy her with sophistry, calumny and the vapors of ignorance ; when the state represses the political anarchist he tries to murder its ruler with a dagger or a gun, or blow him up with dynamite.

A speculative error may be small and sometimes hard to detect ; but it is always insidious in its workings, and its pernicious effects will sooner or later betray it. Small though it be, it will taint an argument, corrupt a creed or a code, poison alike the brightest as well as the dullest intelligence. The greatest intellect, like the strongest body, is liable to disease, for no son of Adam, save One, is immune from the danger of spiritual or physical infection. The prejudices of home,

of nationality, and of association, influence the governing classes as well as the governed. Just as in the physical order a microbe, invisible to the eye, may spread contagion through a whole people, so may an elementary error mislead a nation, and show its poisoned fangs in an act of parliament as well as in a heresy.

We can safely say that a philosophical or a theological error underlies almost every unjust or immoral act done by the political power. The simplest error in metaphysics may have practical results. Thus experience and logic teach that an error regarding the origin of ideas — the primary elements of thought — has led to a denial of the mystery of the Trinity, to pantheism and to atheism ; and from atheism as a speculative theory to atheism in the political action of the state. So true it is that every Abélard is followed or accompanied by an Arnold of Brescia. (1)

There is consequently a necessity in society for safe beacons to show the way. The greater the intellect the more it needs such guides in its soaring flight among the lofty and perilous problems of metaphysics, ethics and theology ; just as the Alpine climber

(1) « Abélard, » par Chas. de Remusat, deux tomes, Paris, 1845.

needs the guide more at the top than at the foot of the mountains.

Fortunately, in the supernatural order, in the domain of faith and morals, we have in the Supreme Pontiff an infallible teacher appointed by the Incarnate Logos. But in the natural and scientific order where shall we look to find our beacon? Through the complex and tangled labyrinths of theological, philosophical, legal and scientific opinions, where shall we find the thread of Ariadne to lead us safely to the solid plane of fixed and universal principles? Certainly not in the new systems, nor in the modern schools of philosophy, as they present themselves to us. In the whole gamut of Scotch and English philosophers, from Reid and Hamilton, from Hume and Locke, and Hobbes to Spencer; of French philosophers from Abélard and Roscelin to Descartes, to Malebranche, to Condillac and to Jouffroy; of Italian philosophers from Gioberti and Rosmini to Galuppi; of German metaphysicians from Kant down to Hegel and to Nitsche, we find only ear-splitting discord and contradiction. Nominalism, and scepticism, and pantheism, and materialism, and evolutionism, with strident cacophony,

run through the whole diapason of modern metaphysics and ethics. Yet a recent writer has said that one of the most celebrated of these modern philosophers, Hegel, who, according to Heine, declared before he died that there "was only one person who ever understood him, and that even this person did not understand him," (1) that the obscure and unintelligible Hegel, who teaches "that all contradictions are identical, and that being and nothing are the same," has some common characteristics with the "Angel of the Schools." Similarity between Hegel and St. Thomas ! Yes ! Such similarity as Captain Fiuellen claimed to exist between Monmouth and Macedon : "There is a river in Macedon, and there is moreover a river at Monmouth." (2) It is fortunate for the preservation of common sense among the clergy as well as among the laity that the authority of the Catholic Church extends to the realm of philosophy as well as to that of theology.

Of Catholic theologians and philosophers the beacon is the great saint who is the glory of the Dominican order, Thomas Aquinas.

(1) *Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland.*

(2) Henry V.

placed by God, in the thirteenth century, to throw light on the past and the future of human science in its struggle to solve the difficult and fundamental problems of the universe. "His doctrine is solid and firm," says one supreme pontiff. (1) "He is the refugent sun of the whole Church," and no one teaches with such safety and faithfulness," according to another pontiff. (2) Selected by Ignatius Loyola and by the Roman Pontiffs as the teacher of teachers, he is the chief and master of all the scholastic theologians. Specially honored by a Council of the Lateran, by the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican, he is, in the words of Cajetan, a scholar, "who because he studied and venerated all the holy doctors, seems to have assimilated the intelligence of them all." (3) Leo XIII., the greatest luminary of the last century likens him to "a sea into which all the streams of wisdom and of learning flow." (4) The extent and depth of his erudition are amazing. He studied God, the source of all science, and found that "the Lord is a God of all knowledge, and to Him are thoughts

(1) Urban V. (2) Leo XIII. (3) In 2a 2ae, c 148 art. 4 fine. (4) Brief, August, 1880; and Pius X in a brief of January 23, 1904, pays additional tribute to the genius and worth of St. Thomas.

prepared " (I Kings, c. II., v. 3.). Not only did he know the Scriptures and the Fathers, the decrees of the Councils, the whole of the canon and of the civil law, but he had also mastered the teaching of the Christian and of the pagan philosophers. He knew the errors of all the sects, and the great facts of all the history. Reason and faith were perfectly blended in his mind and in his writings. Yet, it is not his erudition that astonishes most. It is the grasp of his vast mind, the analyzing and organizing power of his mighty and inexorably logical intellect. There are perfect order and system in his works. Their form is as perfect as their matter. He is always clear, and he has the faculty, common to all men of genius, of framing great thoughts in the fewest words, and of making himself understood by the average intelligence. The gift of genius he has in common with his pupil, Dante, the most sublime poet that ever lived, and with St. Augustine and Aristotle, who may be considered St. Thomas' masters.

Certainly Aristotle is the master mind of all the philosophers, pagan and Christian. God seems to have singled out this illustrious Greek to be a special guide in philosophy for

the whole human race. He is their master in primary as well as in secondary questions. Thus in answering the fundamental metaphysical question of the origin of ideas—a question that has puzzled and humiliated so many philosophers he is a safe guide, and those who have rejected his solution have usually gone astray, even in theology. Correcting the errors of the Stagyrte and of his Arabian commentators with the light of Christian faith, St. Thomas rendered so useful an acceptable to the Church, the Aristotelian philosophy, that it has been practically canonized by the authority of Leo XIII.

But the illuminating power of St. Thomas' works is not confined to theology and to philosophy. He has thrown light on the science of law, of politics and of government. The best authorities, otherwise hostile to Catholic teaching, admit this influence. Thus Rudolph von Jhering, one of the most learned German jurists of our time, and a Protestant, writes : " Mr. Hohoff establishes by quotations from Thomas Aquinas that that great man recognized with entire correctness the realistic, practical and social element in morality, as well as its historical element. The charge of ignorance which Mr. Hohoff accordingly

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makes against me, I cannot refute, but this charge rests with even greater weight on the modern philosophers and Protestant theologians, who neglected to turn to advantage the grand conceptions of this man. I am amazed, and ask how was it possible that such truths after they had once been set forth could be so wholly forgotten by our Protestant science. What errors it might have saved itself had it taken them to heart. For my part, had I known them, I might perhaps not have written my entire work, for its fundamental ideas, which I had specially at heart, are found expressed with perfect clearness and most pregnant language in the works of that mighty thinker." (1) How many modern writers of what is called philosophy, and how many modern preachers of shallow platitudes should confess their ignorance with Mr. von Jhering and commence at once to read and study the works of St. Thomas and of scholastic philosophy. His doctrine is always safe, sound and universal.

St. Thomas follows the Aristotelian method in all his works. This is a method of observation, of induction and of deduction, not limit-

(1) *Der Zweck im Recht*, 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 161, note, Leipzig, 1886.

ed or exclusive, but comprehensive and depending on complete premises ; just the method necessary for scientific discoveries as well as for metaphysical investigation. There are no illogical inferences in this method. He uses it in proving the existence of a personal God. His argument is the same as that implied in the text of St. Paul : " The invisible things of Him, from the Creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made " ; (1) and when the Angelic Doctor has established the great fundamental truth of the existence of God, he logically deduces from it all the propositions of theology. When it is proved that there is One, Supreme, Omnipotent, Omnipresent Being, the Creator of the Universe, the mysteries of the Incarnation and of the Real Presence become easy of acceptance. One who realizes thoroughly what the existence of a personal God, the Supreme Owner and the Supreme Ruler implies, will find no difficulty in admitting mysteries and miracles, rights and obligations, personal and social, for all are centred in Him, the Mystery of Mysteries, the Invisible and Ineffable One in Three.

(1) I Rom., v. 20.

In the psychological order also, the Aristotelian method is followed by Aquinas, who derives knowledge primarily from the senses acting on the intellect. From the study of material things, he rises to a knowledge of their invisible causes. This method stimulates research in the natural sciences, and has led to all the great modern scientific discoveries, some of which were already suspected or indicated in the days when the much decried scholastic philosophy held universal sway. The names of Gerbert, Albert the Great, Roger Bacon, (1) Nicholas von Cues, Trithemius and Copernicus, (2) considering their times and opportunities, compare favorably with those of the greatest scientists of modern times.

In the works of Thomas Aquinas will also be found the arguments which overthrow every scientific theory that draws a conclusion from imperfect premises, as for instance does the hypothesis of radical evolution. (3)

A study of the Angelic Doctor would correct the mental defects of those scientists,

(1) *Opus Majus*, A. D. 1267, a wonderful book. (2) I might have added Dante to the list. He shows familiarity with scientific questions in his great poem; and a prose opusculum « *Quæstio de Aqua et terra* » is attributed to him.

(3) « *Si può essere evoluzionista?* » Canon Boni, Sienna, 1900.

who, plunging intelligence completely into the quagmire of naturalism, clog its wings and render it unable to soar into the beautiful regions of the spiritual worlds. Like a bird, the intellect needs both its wings to mount the sky and to look at the sun. An intellect, specialized and bedraggled by the exclusive study of inferior nature, will often be unable to understand truths of the high order. Hence, clever writers, some non-Catholic, have called attention to the fact that since the study of scholastic philosophy has been neglected the edge of the human intellect has been dulled and even educated men are unable to understand many truths and arguments which the common intellects of the ages of faith easily comprehended. The fate of the narrow specialist in the material order is like that of the sinner immersed in sensual vice. His brain becomes stunted and clouded. (1)

St. Thomas was not only a metaphysician

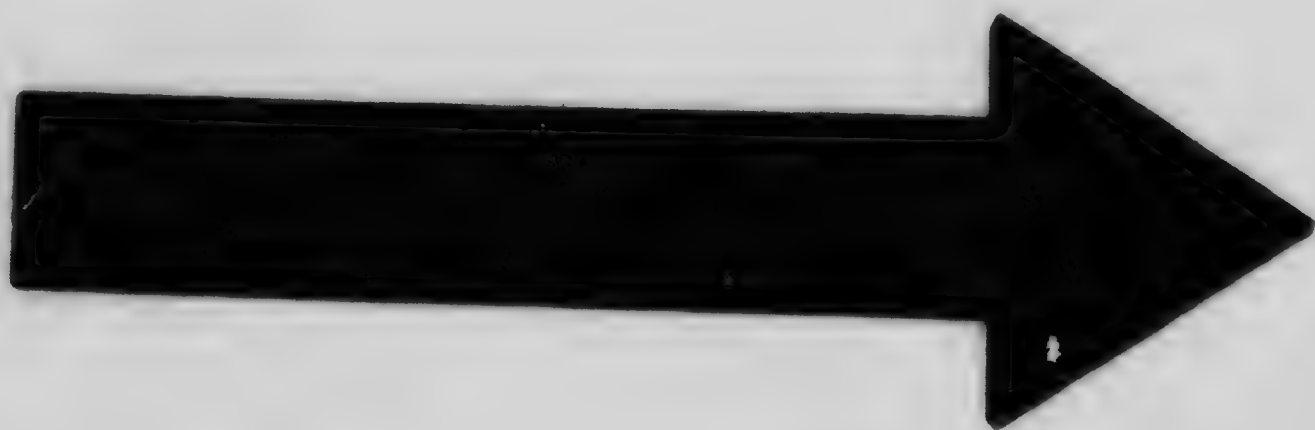
(1) « Let a person but look over the table of contents to the works of Thomas Aquinas, which were read, studied, or commented upon, by all divines a few centuries ago, and he will be convinced, that it must have required both more acuteness to comprehend the subjects of them, and more time to study and digest them in any tolerable manner, than it would require to become exceedingly well versed in all the branches of knowledge I would now recommend. »

« Lectures on History and General Policy, » by Jos. Priestley, LL. D., F. R. S., Dublin, 1788.

and a theologian ; his genius and his education were universal. (1) He studied pagan learning and appropriated its treasures for the defense of Christ, as the Hebrews of old despoiled the Egyptians who had robbed and oppressed them. He fought the enemies of the true God with their own weapons, as David killed Goliath with his own sword. The intellect of St. Thomas Aquinas threw over pagan learning the light of faith, and " faith, " as the Vatican Council says, " frees and protects reason from error, and provides it with varied knowledge. " (2) He assimilated the arguments and imitated the example of the great Christian apologists of early days of Quadratus, Aristides, Hermas, and Athenagoras, who had studied the philosophers of Greece, from Thales to Aristotle. He had read Irenæus, the classic authority on the Gnostic heresies, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, who thoroughly understood the systems of the Alexandrine school—the Latins, Tertullian, Arnobius and Lactantius, masters of dialectics and models of beautiful style — and from this study the divine theologian had found and exposed the fact that at

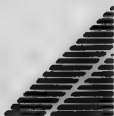
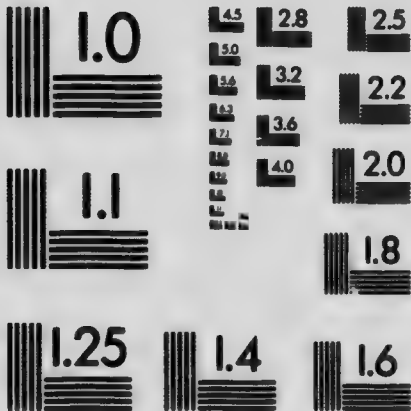
(1) He was a poet and has composed some of our best liturgical hymns.

(2) *Constitu. dog. de fide Catholica.*



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the basis of all error are pride, sensuality or ignorance, or all three together, and that pride clouds the intellect perhaps more effectually than sensuality, and that pride, sensuality and ignorance are the greatest enemies of the Catholic Church. "Wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul nor dwell in a body subject to sin." (1) No error in faith could taint the mind of Aquinas, because blessed with humility, he studied at the feet of the Crucified God in Whom "are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." (2) He has left behind him a spiritual cathedral, of which the "*Summa contra gentes*" is the vestibule, the "*Summa Theologica*" is the nave and the apse, and to which "*De Regimine Principis*" is a beautiful annex. To this intellectual and spiritual cathedral none of the great material cathedrals of the middle ages can be compared in grandeur or beauty. Every part of his edifice is solid and beautiful, built on eternal and universal principles, and embellished in every detail with inspired decoration, from the top of the soaring turrets to the very foundation.

Seven times in the "Divine Comedy"

(1) Wisdom, chap. 1, v. 4. — (2) Coloss. c. II, v. 3.

does his disciple, Dante, mention with praise the Angelic Doctor, whom he placed in Heaven years before the Church had formally canonized him. (1) If it is lawful to hold with the immortal poet in the "Convito" (2) that the pagan Romans, illustrious for noble deeds, were inspired, what prevents us from saying that Thomas Aquinas was supernaturally aided in the composition of his extraordinary works; that his mind was like a great organ on which the nine choirs of angels played, and from which they evoked all the grand harmonies of his teaching? Well then has he been called the "Angel of the Schools," for the "God of Light and of Knowledge" specially endowed and illumined his pure and magnificent soul. Six hundred years have elapsed since he died; yet the old errors which he refuted are again parading among us in new forms. Who will continue his work? Who will write the supplement which he could write, were he alive, to strip off the showy feathers from the old jackdaws of heresy and of false philosophy? Let us hope that from this young University, already distinguished by its scholars, its theo-

(1) *Divina Commedia*. III, 12, 119; II-20, 69; III, 10, 98; 12, 110; 2, 144, 13, 32; 14, 6. (2) Chap. IV, and V.

logians, its philosophers and its historians, a new Aquinas, in learning and in sanctity, may arise to champion the cause of Truth, and to rout the new enemies of the INCARNATE God.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON ROMAN LAW

LECTURE BEFORE THE CATHOLIC CLUB
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE elevation of human thought, the reformation of private and public morality, the purification and development of art and of taste, and the restoration of the dignity and rights of man, — effected by Christianity, not only show its superiority over all other religions, but prove its divine origin. This argument is based on the relation of cause and effect. Christianity has done what no other creed ever did, or could do. It has lifted mankind up to so high and noble a plane of intelligence, to so pure a realm of morals and conduct, that none can be conceived higher or nobler. The history of this transformation, — brought about in spite of difficulties insurmountable by human means and in the teeth of all kinds of opposition, — is stamped on the science, literature, morals,

manners, politics and institutions of the last nineteen hundred years. The page is open and the facts are patent. The effect is superhuman and supernatural, and therefore the cause must be divine. The conquest of human pride by Christian faith, and the elevation of the thoughts and morals of men to Christian ideals, are clearly the work of God alone. This wonderful transformation has taken place in all races and nations which received and practised the Christian religion ; but nowhere does the change strike us so forcibly as in the laws which had been the embodiment of the religious, social and political life, and the rule of conduct for the Roman people before they fell under the influence of Bethlehem and of Calvary.

The Romans were the heirs of all the progress that had preceded them. They had studied the laws and the policies of the Pharaohs and Ptolemys of Egypt, of the Solons and the Lycurguses of Athens and of Sparta ; and had appropriated all that was best in the older pagan civilizations and pagan religions. Roman laws are the highest product of the political genius and experience of the conquerors of the world. They are a clear expression of the cruel, selfish, heartless

and materialistic spirit of paganism. They can be found in Ulpian's works before they were modified by Christianity, and codified by Theodosius and Justinian.

The examination of even a few of the more important of the Christian modifications to these laws will make us the more deeply reverence the cause which brought about such beneficent results to mankind. Let us confine ourselves to a consideration of the status of the father, the child and the mother, and that of the laboring classes in ancient Roman society, and contrast it with their condition under Christian law.

The pagan Roman father had more than the power of a Czar or a Sultan in the family.

The law gave him absolute ownership of his children. He could not only chastise, but imprison, exile, and sell his son into slavery. He could put him to death before or after his birth any instant during his life. The father often sold his son into slavery, or at his pleasure forced him to marry, divorced him, or transferred him to another family. Titus Arius banished his son. It was not unusual to see fathers drag their sons out of the tribune, and punish them publicly for daring to address the people. Neither the consul, nor

the tribune of the people presumed to interfere in such cases. The *Lex Pompeia de Parricidio* is silent in regard to the murder of a child by his father. Livy tells us that Manlius put his victorious son to death for disobeying orders ; and Plutarch records that Cassius Brutus killed his son for negotiating with the enemy. But the father could kill his son even if he had committed no offense. Valerius Maximus mentions three celebrated cases, — Cassius, Scaurus and Fulvius, — who were put to death by their fathers. Seneca tells of a Roman knight, Erixon, who scourged his son to death in the public square. Cicero admits the father's right of life and death even in the case of an adopted son. This absolute power existed to a fuller extent over the daughters of the family. The father's power over his children was greater than that over his slaves. These could be emancipated by a simple process, while for many centuries, the son could be set free only by a sale of his person three times repeated by his father. The father usurped the ownership over the child's body and soul which in Christianity is conceded to God alone. Christian teaching and practice soon limited the paternal power. The moment that family prayers were intro-

duced into domestic life, — the moment the father, the child and the mother knelt down and said together the Lord's Prayer, — a feeling of equality entered into the family, — an equality not absolute, it is true, but yet an equality before the Father who is in Heaven and who has rights prior and superior to those of parents. The human father, instead of being an owner, became only an agent, or delegate with limited powers ; for the child and mother were as much the children of God, the Creator and Redeemer, and had rights as well as the head of the family. To protect the soul and the body of the child and his mother from the despotism and fickle passions of man, the Christian religion stood with a drawn sword. While it imposed the obligation of obedience and respect on the weaker, it also imposed the obligation of support, protection and education on the stronger party. Both were commanded to help each other in the attainment of eternal life and happiness, the last end of man. Laws are modified by public opinion, so when public opinion became Christian, the laws became Christian. Godefroy, a learned commentator on the Theodosian Code, calls attention to this influence of the

Christian religion. "It is Christian discipline," says he, "which gradually softened the harshness of paternal authority". (1) This "discipline" influenced Constantine, A. D. 333, to punish as a parricide a father for killing his son. Under Justinian, the father's power became so limited that he could inflict only light penalties on his children, and he had to get the permission of the civil court before punishing them severely. Formerly all the son's property went to the father; but under Christian legislation, the son acquired the exclusive right to certain kinds of property; and, eventually, could acquire and hold property on an equal footing with his father. Under the pagan paternal tyranny, the father became the owner of all the property of his son's deceased wife and children, and also of his own and his wife's deceased ancestors. But Christianity limited the father's rights of inheritance; so that, instead of being the sole heir, he became only one of the heirs, and came after his minor children. The mother's property went no longer to the father, but to the children, if she died intestate. The Justinian code finally gave to the son full control over all his

(1) *De Maternis bonis*, Just. 248.

acquisitions. The daughter too was emancipated from the laws which deprived her of the right to property, especially of certain rights of succession. According to the old law, family relationship was counted down through the male line. The descendants in the male line were alone entitled to inherit. Daughters were excluded from the right to own the property of their father. But the Christian spirit modified these harsh laws and gave to the female children rights equal to the males. Inheritance by blood or "consanguinity" took the place of "agnation" or male descent; and thus property reverted to the natural descendants of the deceased. The masculine and feminine lines were made equal. The old law, Justinian calls "Inhuman." (1) Thus did Christianity destroy the despotism of the father even in regard to property.

A natural consequence of the unlimited power of the father was the universal custom of killing children before they were born, or of casting them out, immediately after birth, to perish of hunger and cold or to be devoured by dogs, pigs and birds, in the streets and highways. The law permitted this custom and it was general among the rich as well as

(1) Just. lib. II, tit. IX.

among the poor. Latin literature frequently alludes to this exposure of children. Terence speaks of it in two of his comedies. (1) In one, the husband, who is about to travel, tells his wife to kill the child that is soon to be born if it be a girl. In the other, the plot hinges on the mother's weakness in exposing, rather than killing her female child. But the killing was not confined to the females. Plautus and Lucian allude to the general custom. Quintillian says that "to kill a man is often held to be a crime; but to kill one's own children is sometimes considered a beautiful action among the Romans". He adds that the exposed children rarely survived. (2) Pliny tells us that there were people who hunted for infants' brains and marrows out of which they made charms or medicines. Seneca, a distinguished partizan of the Stoic which was the best and the highest school of Roman philosophy, says: "Children, if weak or deformed from birth, we drown. It is not anger but reason thus to separate the useless from the sound" (3). The girls fared worse than the boys, for Stobaeus says: "The poor

(1) Terence, *Andr.* Act IV Scened v. an *Heaut.* Act. III scene v.

(2) Quint. *Dec.*, 303, VI,

(3) *De Ira*, I-15

man raises his sons, but exposes his daughters". (1) There were indeed people in Rome who saved the lives of some of those children, but reserved them for a fate far worse than death. They first maimed them by cutting off a hand or a foot to excite compassion, and then trained them to beg at the street corners. Seneca speaks of this custom. (2) He describes these people with shortened limbs, broken joints or backs, led around by professional beggars. The unfortunate outcasts were usually thrown at the base of the Lactarian column, which Seneca calls "a workshop of human misfortunes; the shambles of infants". But although he thus seems to condemn, we do not read that he or his fellow philosophers ever did anything to abolish a crime which substantially they approved. The historian, Suetonius, says that on the day when Germanicus died, parents exposed all their new born babes. (3) Besides the witches who used parts of the murdered children in their incantations, the procurers who brought them up for the brothels, and the professional beggars who maimed them, — slave dealers

(1) Serm. 75

(2) *Controversi*, Lib. v., v. 33.

(3) Calig. N. 5

did a thriving business in this traffic. Terence represents a father, Chremes, as saying, while he reproaches the mother for not killing the child: "What did you mean? Just think. You would have given her to that old witch to be made a slave or a prostitute." Quintillian deplores the fate of these unfortunate children exposed to birds of prey and to wild beasts.

There is a well-known passage in the sixth satire of Juvenal where he depicts the fashionable wife who, childless but wishing to secure an inheritance, goes to the Velabrum,—a district near Mount Aventine, where children were exposed,—to seek an infant which she can impose as an heir on her husband's credulity.

The allusion in Juvenal to the Salians and the Scauri is to the highest Roman honors and families. The Salians were the high-priests, and the Scauri were patricians. Sometimes, therefore, the fate of a foundling was a lucky one,—when he was foisted into a noble family by an unprincipled wife.

The Christian apologists of the early ages all allude to this custom in terms of condemnation. "We renounce" says Athenagoras, "your bloody spectacles, believing that to sanction a murder is like committing it. We

hold that the women who commit abortion are homicides, and that to expose a child is to kill him. "We find" says Justin, another Christian Apologist, "among all nations children destined for the most horrible purposes and who are nourished like troops of animals. You raise a revenue on these children. The most of these unfortunate children are destined for debauch". Lactantius says of the pagans of his day: "They have educated their own blood for slavery or the brothel". (1) St. Basil alludes to the custom of selling free children to creditors.

The whole spirit and the letter of Christianity were against this abominable injustice. From the day that Our Lord said: "Suffer the children to come unto me and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," (2) a new era dawned over the child's cradle. The influence of the new teaching began to show itself in pagan philosophy at a very early date. The Stoics particularly knew something of Christ, and caught some of the spirit of His doctrine. Seneca and Quintillian used kind words which the older Roman writers would not have under-

(1) *De Vero Cultu*. Lib. VI.

(2) Luke XVIII, v. 16.

stood. A Stoic, Julius Paulus, in the reign of Severus, condemned the custom of exposing children. Contact with the Christians and a knowledge of their doctrines and virtues influenced some of the best writers, and some of the emperors who succeeded Nero. But before Constantine, none of them made laws against this inhuman practice. In the year 315, ten years before the general Council of the Church at Nicæa, the first Christian emperor published a proclamation in all the towns of Italy against parents who exposed their children. He, Constantine, ordered that if the father was too poor to support his children, the revenues of the state should be used for the purpose. Again, in A. D. 321, learning that the inhabitants of the provinces, on account of poverty, sold their children, he ordered a certain portion of the public revenues to be set aside for their support. (1) To shelter and save foundlings, the Council of Nicæa ordered hospitals to be founded in the principal towns. Valentinian, A. D. 366, threatened severe penalties on parents who exposed their children. But it is only in the Code of Justinian that the full force of Christian sentiment is made manifest.

(1) Col. Theod. xi, tit. 27.

According to his enactments, the abandoned child even if a slave became free. It could not become the property of the finder, and it ceased to be the property of the parent. It could acquire property and transmit it to descendants. In the year 533, as the abuse still existed, he threatened the authors of the crime with severest penalties. All children found exposed near churches were declared free, and no one could afterwards reclaim them from a protector. The *Novellæ* speak of the crime of exposing children as one alien to nature,—one which even barbarians should not commit : “ *Crimen a sensu humano alienum, et quod ne ab ullis quidem barbaris admitti credibile est.*” (1) In these words we see the change which had taken place in public opinion. Justinian added institutions to his laws for the protection of the infant castaways. The very churches became their houses of refuge. At the door of each church, a marble vessel was provided into which the infant could be placed for shelter ; this was the origin of the turning slide or “ *tour*” of the modern foundling asylum. The clergy took charge of these children ; they were adopted either by the faithful, or by the Church which

(1) Nov. III.

educated them. All was done with the knowledge and under the direction of the bishop. In a short time nearly all the churches had orphanages or foundling asylums. Thus, did Christianity, in the very beginning of its career, save the child, and by saving the child, saved society, of which the child is the corner-stone.

The change effected in the condition of the Roman wife and mother is equally striking. Woman's condition under paganism was one of degradation and wretchedness. She was practically an outcast and an outlaw. She could not dispose of property, or transact business without a tutor or guardian. "Our ancestors" says Cato, quoted by Livy, "permitted women to transact no business without a tutor ; they are under the control of parents, brothers or husbands." The Roman mother could not inherit the property of her minor children. They could marry without her consent. She had no authority over them. She was considered almost as a specifically inferior being to her husband. He had absolute control over all her property. All her earnings, if she was in business, belonged to him. She stood before him in the

(1) Livy, 34.-2.

condition of a slave, or of an animal. He could beat, or put her to death if he pleased. The contempt and slavery of woman was due to the immorality of paganism. Marriage was a mere name. It gave the wife no rights. The will of her husband could divorce her. Daily divorces were the consequence, Seneca and Juvenal speak of them; and say, that women of noble birth count their years by the number of their husbands, and not by the number of the consuls. (1). In the sixth Satire, Juvenal, tells us of a woman who had eight husbands in five years; " *Sic crescit numerus, sic sunt octo mariti — quinque per autumnos* ". In the same satire, he says that husbands divorced their wives on the excuse that they had a cold in the head: " *Jam gravis es nobis, et sæpe emungeris, exi ocius et propera; sicco venit altera naso* ". Tacitus speaks of the universal adultery of his times; and Tertulian says that divorce seems to be the aim and purpose of pagan marriages. (2) So low was the condition of morals, A. D. 19, that the Roman Senate had to pass a law prohibiting women of noble origin from becoming

(1) « *Non Consulum numero sed maritorum annos suos computant.* »
De Ben., III, 15.

(2) *A. pœ. C. vi.*

prostitutes. Little or no formality was required to get rid of a wife. The husband threw his slipper out of doors, and bade her to go with it. I need not insist on this point : If there is one virtue more than another which characterizes the religion of Christ, it is purity. If there is one characteristic more than another which specifically distinguishes His Church from all false creeds, pagan or Christian, — it is her respect for woman, her defense of woman's dignity, of woman's rights in the holy and indissoluble bonds of the Sacrament of marriage. The substitution of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin for the lewd Venus in the creed and culture of the people, soon transformed society and law. The Justinian Code shows the progress of reform. Divorce and adultery disappear under the new teaching. Even the rights of women to property are asserted : " It is worthy of the chastity of our times", says the Code, " to give a new position to women ; tutelage of women must be done away with". (1) By this code, she acquires the right to the dower which she brought to her husband. He has for the future only a temporary interest in it. The wife herself cannot dispose of it. She

(1) Justinian, Lib. I, tit. XII.

has a mortgage over all his immovable property to guarantee her dower right. She acquires equal rights to property with her husband; equal rights to the property of deceased children. She becomes their legal guardian, when they are living, and has the right to choose a husband for her daughter. If the husband unjustly divorces or repudiates his wife, she acquires full paternal power over the children. Thus did the religion of Jesus Christ elevate and protect the sex which was that of His Blessed Mother.

Lastly, let us consider the elevation of the laboring classes through Christian influence. Their condition under paganism in the rest of the empire may be judged from what it was in the city of Rome. Mommsen, following data given by Friedlander, computes the population of the City, under Augustus, as follows : Roman Citizens ; 320,000. Women and children 300,000 ; Senators & knights 10,000 ; Garrison 20,00 ; Slaves, 900,000 Strangers about 60,000. Total — 1,610,000.

His slaves, who were thus more than half of the inhabitants, compose what we now call the working classes. Slaves filled all the trades, and did all the domestic service in town and country. They were mechan-

ics, masons, carpenters, bakers, shoe-makers, tailors, dress-makers, and domestic servants. Every respectable household had at least ten slaves, as Horace tells us. They were also music teachers, sculptors, painters, schoolmasters, and actors. The sole profession from which they were excluded was the law; only a Roman citizen could be a lawyer.

This slavery was of the most abject and degrading character. The slave could be neither a legal husband, nor a legal father. Slaves had no standing in civil society. "Servus nullum caputhabet," was an axiom of the Roman law. "You can do as you please to your slave", wrote Seneca, (1) "except what you should not do to an animal." The poor, who were almost all slaves, were despised. "Poverty" says Juvenal, "makes men ridiculous". "You are doing an ill service to a poor man," wrote Plautus, "by giving him food and drink. You lose what you give, and only prolong his misery." "Compassion" again wrote Seneca, the Stoic, "is a vice of the soul which the wise man condemns, and only by a vulgar prejudice is it considered a virtue". (2) These

(1) De Clementia, 1-18; see also Ulpian, De Justitia et Jure.

(2) De Clementia II c. 4-5.

Romans only copied Plato's teaching in the Republic where he says that we should not prolong the life of human beings that are sickly. Slaves could not marry without the consent of their masters ; and so deep-rooted was this law in Roman jurisprudence, that it took twelve centuries of Christian teaching and influence, and a noble pope,—Adrian IV, who governed the Church from A. D. 1154 to 1159, — to abolish it as one of the impediments nullifying marriage. (1)

The Church always protects the weak from the oppression of the strong. From the very beginning, she began to alleviate the condition of slaves. St. Paul, in his letters to the Colossians and to the Ephesians, commands masters to treat their slaves kindly, to order them to do only what is just. He teaches that God is the Father of the slave as well as of the freeman. The "Apostolic Constitutions" which summarize the discipline of the Eastern Church in the third century, order bishops to excommunicate masters who beat, starve, or treat harshly the laboring classes. St. Augustine lays down the Christian doctrine in a classic phrase : "No Christian" says he, "can own a human being as if he

(1) Decret. IV book, Title IX.

were a horse or money ; for man must love his fellow man as himself ". (1) But it was especially in protecting the slaves from the baser passions of their masters, that Christian influence is most striking. The Church fought a noble fight against the civil law, to protect the slave's morals. In the second century, she declared the marriage of a slave with a free man valid, if both parties were Christian. St. Ambrose declared such marriages valid, although the civil laws of his time still persisted in asserting their nullity. St. Gregory the Great denounces the separation of the families of married slaves, and threatened with excommunication a bishop who permitted it in his diocese. (2) Constantine made laws forbidding the removal of rural slaves from lands belonging to the state, (3) and protected their rights to permanent habitation. From these Christian principles and laws, a period of general emancipation began. The Christians long before had begun to free their slaves. (4) St. Clement, the second successor of

(1) *De Sermone Domini in Monte.*

(2) St. Gregory, *Magn. Epist.* IV, 12.

(3) *Cod. Theodos.* I. *Communi dividundo.*

(4) *Les Esclaves Chrétiens*, P. Allard, p. 298, 330, &c.

St. Peter, praises certain Christians who made themselves slaves to purchase the freedom of others. Two laws of Constantine, of A. D. 316 and 324, give to masters the right to emancipate their slaves in the church in presence of the bishop. Clerics who owned slaves could free them almost without formality. (1) St. Melania the younger freed 8,000 slaves in one day; and many other Christian slave holders freed them *en masse*. In fact if the barbaric invasions had not interrupted the work of the Church, she would have freed from their shackles all the laboring classes in Europe and Asia before the seventh century. In the middle ages, when she had fuller power over the poor, they acknowledged her by a proverb that in Germany is historical: "Unter dem Krumstab gibt es gut leben" was the phrase of the German peasants. "It is good to live under the crozier". She honored on her altars the carpenter to whom the Eternal Father had entrusted His Son while on earth; and she adored as God and Redeemer Him Who had toiled at the carpenter's bench. The result of this worship was the elevation of those who lived by labor and industry, and

(1) Cod. Theodos. De Manumissionibus, &c.

they were the immense majority of the human race, when Christ was born, as they are still. Those of them who became Christians loved labor and industry because of their faith and the models proposed for their imitation. Hence Christian laborers became the best in the empire. The Christian population were the most industrious as they were the most honest and moral. So true is this that we can say as M. Jeannet does (1) "that out of a thousand Christian proletarians in the cities, almost all worked for their living; while out of a thousand pagan proletarians, the two-thirds were supported by the state, or by the rich. Hence arose considerable force in the Christian communities. The faithful knew one another, prayed together and lived as brethren.

The Christian workman outstripped in every way his pagan rival. On this point, even in the second century, Athenagoras could say to the pagans: "You will find some ignorant people among us, some artisans who perhaps are not able to prove the advantage of our religion by their words, but they demonstrate it by their acts and by their lives. (2) "

(1) *Les Grandes Epoques de l'Histoire Economique*, p. 59.

(2) *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrét. Instrument de div. Professions*.

In spite of these facts, and of countless others of the same character, infidels and apostates deny the benefits conferred on the human race by Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. What ingrates ! They have but to open the pages of history to see the superiority of His teaching and of its results over those of all the philosophers, moralists, statesmen and lawgivers who lived before or after him. At the head of all the philosophies, of all the moral codes, of all the political systems, — the religion of Christ will ever stand. Ingratitude may refuse to acknowledge its beneficent influence on society, or deny that it has given liberty to man, woman and child ; but ingratitude cannot destroy the evidence. The whole of paganism now feels the influence of Christianity. The influence of the sun's light is felt even behind closed doors and barred windows. Even from the darkest room you cannot totally exclude the light. Neither can infidels bar out Christian truth from their minds. Its doctrines exercise so potent an influence on man, that total ignorance, total error and total depravity are no longer possible. Heresy may deny Christian dogmas, but they will shine in the very dungeon of unbelief : the rays will go to

the very bottom of the well. False art may deny Christian ideals, but they will make the base artist ashamed of his work. The wicked may deny Christian morality, but it will haunt him in solitude and drive the dagger of remorse into his conscience. Despots may try to chain Christian truth, but they might as well attempt to chain the lightning. Christianity, like the God Who is its Author, shines on the good and on the bad. Like Him, it is assailed by ungrateful creatures who enjoy its benefits, and who would not have the power to assail, if those benefits had not been conferred on them.

But, though tempests rage, and the waves roar, the foundation remains unmoved. Over the troubled and gloomy sea, strewn with the wrecks of the pirate ships that refused to follow its guidance, the Beacon will always shine with a clear, steady and in-extinguishable Light.

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PART THIRD
ADDRESSES

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATES OF

ST. FRANCIS COLLEGE, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

YOU stand here the product of a system that is bitterly assailed by the enemies of Christianity throughout the world. You are the graduates of a Christian school. Upon that school, Infidelity, whether it be the result of education or of apostasy, in the press, from the rostrum, from the professor's chair, in the halls of legislation, and even from the pulpit, wages unremitting and unjustifiable warfare. Fear and impotency, it is true, limit modern infidel hatred; but it goes as far as it can with impunity. It has the cunning and the cowardice, as well as the malice, of Julian the Apostate, (1) who was afraid to put the Christians of his time to

(1) A. D., 361

death, but nevertheless excluded them from all civil and military offices, and forbade them to teach in the public schools, or to establish schools of their own. Denying the Divinity of Christ, infidelity with a hatred so superhumanly malicious as to be a proof of the existence of a personal devil, still strives, as it has striven since the Crucifixion, to destroy Christ and whatever tends to promote or propagate His doctrines. Infidelity never builds up. Its purpose is to ruin, and Apollyon, the destroyer, is its idol.

We are not astonished, therefore, at infidel hatred of Christian education. But we are surprised at the hostility of certain so-called Christians. Why should they oppose Christian schools ? They believe as Catholics do, in the inspiration of the Bible, in the divine origin of the Ten Commandments, in the Divinity of Christ, in the necessity of Christian Faith and Morality for the salvation of mankind, as well as for the temporal happiness of the individual and of the family. They know also that national prosperity and stability depend on respect for the laws, for the rights of persons and property, and for the sanctity of oaths. If there be a general contempt of the laws of the land, anarchy must follow. If

there be no respect for individual rights, the worst forms of socialism and communism will be the consequence ; and if there be a universal disregard of the sanctity of an oath, general distrust and perjury will entail the destruction of commerce and trade, and the impossibility of obtaining justice in the courts of law. But without God and religion how can there be any obligation or sanction to law, to right or to an oath ? God is the sole source of this obligation, and religion its greatest sanction. How can any Christian patriot insist, as so many pretended patriots do, in putting God into the constitution of the state while putting Him out of the school ? Or how can any Christian hold the extraordinary opinion, preached even by Christian clergymen, that religious teaching is necessary in the college and in the university, but unnecessary in the primary school, as if religion were good for the rich, but useless to the poor, necessary for the classes, but unnecessary for the masses ?

These Christians know that whatever tends to check or diminish crime is a safeguard of the family and the state, for crime is the worst enemy of the family and of the state. They know that no one who believes the doc-

trines and practises the precepts of Christianity can be a criminal, that crime among Christians is an anomaly ; an abuse of free will, the sad result of human passions rebelling against the law ; and that the teaching and influence of the Church are opposed to every species of crime. Why then deprive the growing generation of the restraining and elevating influence of religion at the most susceptible period of their lives ?

A few years ago the Director-General of the prisons of France, said : "that the progress of crime was in direct proportion with that of irreligious education." Ravachol, who, a few months ago, made Paris tremble with dynamite outrages, when asked by the judge who tried him if he believed in God, answered : "If I believed in Him, do you think I would do what I have done ?" Vaillant, who lately threw the bomb into the halls of the Legislative Assembly of France, refused the services of religion before his execution. Henry, who killed the inmates of the *Café Terminus*, declared that he repudiated the principle of authority as "an old remnant of faith in a Supreme Being," and added : "I recognize only one tribunal, my conscience." Caserio, the murderer of Carnot, and Lega, the would-

be murderer of Crispi, became anarchists and assassins after throwing away their Christian faith. In these, and in all other cases, the crimes of infidels are the logical consequence of their infidelity, while the crimes committed by Christians are contrary to their convictions. The position, therefore, of any Christian who opposes the Christian school is inexplicable. To oppose it on the ground of patriotism betrays ignorance of Christian teaching and of history. The greatest soldiers and sailors that ever lived were trained in Christian schools.

In them they learned the sacred character of duty. In them they were taught that if false to their country, they were false to their God. Says Monsignor Satolli, the illustrious and learned delegate of our holy Father, Leo XIII: "Religion indeed is precisely the best and the surest basis of every civic virtue. Therefore our youth learn precisely in the Christian schools, that *conversatio bona*, those virtues which are the ornaments of every good citizen. The reproach that our Catholic schools are detrimental to the development of a truly national spirit, or at least do not promote it, is simply incomprehensible, and can only be ascribed to complete ignorance,

or prejudice, against the salutary influence which religion exercises in every sphere of social life. Such a reproach would be doubly unintelligible when coming from a Catholic." Of all the lies born in hell and propagated by the devil, the most infamous in its purpose, the most cowardly in its origin, the most shameless in the face of history, is that lie which charges treason on the Christian school, and lack of patriotism in its pupils !

How despicable a lie it is, young gentlemen, you know; for you know the patriotism of your Church and of your Christian teachers. They do not belong to the class that shouts for "the flag and an appropriation." They are loyal to the flag, although they get no appropriation. They represent the convictions of ten millions of our best citizens, who by their unwavering adherence to the cause of Christian education, and by their generosity in sustaining it, show the difference between true Christianity and its counterfeit. Because they truly love their God and their country, and wish to preserve the faith and morals, and thus save the souls of their children, they bear the burden of double taxation. The condition of Catholics in

this respect, in the United States, proves that the accidental majority of a republic may be as unjust and as despotic as a Czar or a Sultan.

Whatever others may say, you know that your teachers are noble Christians and exemplary citizens. They make the greatest of sacrifices without the hope of honor or emolument. Bound by sacred vows, which shut them off from all the ambitions and pleasures of the world, they spend their lives in the arduous labor of the Christian school-room. When they die, no marble or granite monument marks their lowly graves. But the angels are preparing for them thrones, and they shall live forever with God and His saints. "The just shall be in everlasting remembrance" (Psalm cxi., v. 7); the memory of these devoted teachers shall be cherished by you also, young gentlemen, and the older you grow, the more you will realize the debt of gratitude you owe them.

All honor, therefore, to these noble Brothers of the Christian School. They have taught you to be true Christian men; that is, to be pure, honest, truthful; men of principle and of courage. They have equipped you to be leaders and champions in the old Church

that never yields to human respect, to human prejudices or passions, but is always ready to go back to the catacombs, if necessary, rather than compromise a dogma, or trim a precept of the doctrine of Christ. Stand bravely by Her in the battle of truth against error. Soldiers of truth, stand by your flag and guns, and the final victory will be yours, for "the truth of the Lord remaineth forever!" (Psalm 116; v. 2)

ADDRESS

TO THE

GRADUATES OF ST. PETER'S COLLEGE

JERSEY CITY, JUNE 27, 1900.

IT gives me special pleasure to address you in this place endeared to me by some of the tenderest and holiest associations of my early years. A few yards from this spot, I first learned to know and love the Jesuit Fathers ; and I was one of the first Jersey City boys to cross the Hudson to study in ever dear and venerated St. Francis Xavier College, New York. We were prompted to go there by one of the most zealous and exemplary priests of this or any diocese, a devoted friend of the Society of Jesus, the venerable Father John Kelly, for over twenty-two years pastor of St. Peter's parish, the builder of St. Peter's Church and parochial school, the founder of St. Mary's parish and of the first church and school there, the founder of St. Joseph's parish and the builder of its first church, the chief promoter of the German parish, in which he laid the corner-stone of

St. Boniface's Church in the early sixties ; and the first promoter of the Orphan Asylum which now flourishes in St. Mary's Parish. His sainted remains rest in old St. Peter's Cemetery, surrounded by the graves of his old friends and parishioners.

Those were stormy times, gentlemen, in which the Catholic boy had often to fight his way on both sides of the river, and sometimes he was badly beaten ; for physical force and material resources are only sometimes, though reason and logic are always on the side of truth.

How fortunate we are, brother graduates of a Jesuit college, to have been educated by gentlemen of polished manners, by Christians formed by all the virtues, and by scholars of cultured intelligence and reliable erudition, sacred and profane. Among our professors there has been no doubting agnostic to ask like Pilate, " What is truth ? " without being able to answer the question. Under them we learned to know the truth, and the way to find it by certain infallible methods. This is what makes the specific excellence of the education received in all Catholic colleges. It is an education formed on the only true ideal ; an education based

on belief in God, and in the immortality of the soul — two truths that dominate and enable the whole encyclopædia of human knowledge. God is the source and centre of truth and, consequently, of science and art. His existence is the fundamental truth, the sun which illuminates all that is true, good or beautiful in creation. The truth that the human soul is spiritual and immortal, holds in the subjective a rank similar to that of the existence of God in the objective order. The human soul is angelic, not animal. Hence the Jesuit educator sees God and his vestiges in all the sciences which he teaches. He spiritualizes them all and reduces them to unity in God. In the soul of his pupil, the Jesuit sees an intellect to be trained to think according to the laws of logic ; an imagination to be pruned and chastened by the dictates of good taste. He sees an intellect to be guided by the laws of truth, a memory to be burdened only with the useful and beneficial and a will to be regulated by the laws of morality. Religion and philosophy, which form the intellect and the conscience, are his pointers in education showing where God, the Polar Star, is in the sky. Educators with such ideals must necessarily surpass those who are

agnostics or materialists, or both. These, like Pilate, wash their hands of the crime, while they send out from certain colleges and universities bands of ill-trained young men to sail the sea of life without a compass, without faith, without conscience, without good taste ; with an education, lame, broken-winged and lopsided.

That this is the kind of education imparted in some of our well-known universities is notorious, and is clearly shown in the answers to the recent attack upon the Jesuit colleges made by President Eliot of Harvard. He has made the most ridiculous of all the false charges against the sons of Loyola since they first entered the battlefield as champions of truth. By it he has injured the reputation of Harvard. I am almost glad that he has made this mistake, for it has brought out Fathers Brosnahan and Campbell in such brilliant and logical replies that the American public now knows the Jesuits better, and has discredited President Eliot as a writer, a logician, or a man of reliable information. No one can add force or authority to what those two clever writers have so ably done. Yet I would like to enter my protest also, as an alumnus of a Jesuit college, having also had some expe-

rience as an educator, against the fault-finding Harvard president.

He does not attack the Jesuit method of teaching. No one has yet been fool enough to do that. That method of daily questioning, of frequent repetition, of debates, interrogations by the professor, and constant stimulation of the attention and of the spirit of emulation of the students is far superior to the Harvard system, in which a mere dull and monotonous attendance, at the professor's lecture, is sufficient. This is a "go-as-you-please" method, and the education of Harvard is, consequently, a "go-as-you-please" education.

The chief and fundamental charge Mr. Eliot makes is that the Jesuits do not follow the example of Harvard and of certain other colleges, which permit the students almost unlimited freedom in electing their own studies. Now any one who reflects for a moment will see that to give a callow youth the right to choose his own studies is to ruin him. The average youth will always neglect the hard things and choose the easiest study. For instance, he will neglect Latin, Greek and mathematics (and the facts show that he does) and prefer in their places something

easy and light. Harvard approves, nay coddles him for his poor choice, and gives him an A. B. if he knows nothing but a French comedy, or the chemical properties of animal fat. Such a graduate is certainly not an educated person. His so-called education is based on the extreme independence of the individual which Guisot calls the dominant character of barbarism. Yet Harvard is filling the country with just such graduates to spread the principles of false culture and veneered barbarism.

The old proverb says that you cannot make a "silk purse out of a sow's ear" and no Jesuit college ever tries to do that, but Harvard's President is doing it, and blaming others for not following his iniquitous example. In fact, considering the lack of discipline in Harvard, the lack of restraint upon the young men who go there, the temptations and distractions to which they are exposed night and day, the go-as-you-please spirit under President Eliot, I am not astonished to find that their average senior is not as well educated as the Freshman of the Jesuit college. The Jesuit no more believes in indifferentism in education than he believes in it in religion. There is a hierarchy in the branches

of knowledge. A knowledge of bugs is not as important as a knowledge of Greek, Latin or of English literature. The Jesuit chooses the best in everything, in literature and science, and he compels the youth to learn that and allows him to elect his studies only when he has acquired wisdom with age and experience.

The Jesuit stands to the student in the place of parent and does what the good parent does — he provides wholesome food for the children. The student is not allowed to injure himself by the sweets which he prefers to wholesome nourishment. Not only the Jesuits, but the majority of intelligent educators, abroad and at home, among them even professors in Harvard, and the very best authorities in other universities, condemn this elective system of Mr. Eliot. A professor of many years standing in Princeton University told me recently that all the American universities are deteriorating because of the abuse of the elective system. "Formerly," said he, "we ruled the young men, they had to learn what we told them; but now they rule us, or rather, their indulgent mothers rule us." The student, discontented with Greek or Latin or mathematics, goes home and coaxes his

mother to let him take something easy in their stead. She consents and the university has to obey or lose a pupil. Thus the young man is graduated, knowing only a French comedy, "*Les Fourberies de Scapin*" for instance, with a taste for "Sapho," but knowing nothing of the orations of Cicero or Demosthenes, nothing of the treasures of Greek and Latin literature. Now, without a knowledge of these, no man has received a liberal education. They are treasures which contain the wealth of ancient knowledge and in form they will always remain the best models of good taste in every species of literature.

The Jesuit colleges are, therefore, superior to Harvard, not only in discipline and method, but in matter. They teach more and better matter than Harvard. The matter is selected according to the dignity of the subject and not at the good pleasure of some immature fledgling.

But a special superiority of the Jesuit college is its course of mental philosophy, of which Harvard knows nothing but the name. You, gentlemen, during the past year, have been studying, as an ordinary course, logic, or the art of reasoning ; metaphysics, which

treat of the fundamental truths necessary for the intellect to know, and ethics, which treat of the fundamental laws of morality which govern the individual, the family and the state. Had you studied in Harvard, you would have received no such training as you have received here during the past year — the best possible preliminary training for the study of law, medicine, politics or literature. Harvard, like all non-Catholic colleges, has no proper philosophy course. Since the day when Luther, because he lacked a logical mind and was only a passionate declaimer with political influence to back him, attacked Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and the scholastics, it is hard to find a scholar outside of the Catholic Church whose mind is not crooked and superficial, incapable of dealing with metaphysical truths, or of distinguishing between the true and the false. Yet Dante a great philosopher and the greatest of all the poets, has said :

“ Chè quegli è tragli stolti bene abasso,
Che senza distinzion afferma o niega. ”

President Eliot is a proof of my statement. His mind, as shown in his zigzag argument, reminds me of a buckled saw, which, as every Jersey farmer knows, is one so bent and

crooked that it twists in the hand and will not saw the wood. I admit that there are some things in which Harvard may excel. It may excel in the study of bugs or coprolites, for instance, and know more about them than the graduates of Jesuit colleges do. But where is Harvard when there is question of knowledge of social and ethical principles, the most important of all the branches of education? In these, Harvard's intellect is a buckled saw. In the hands of every Jesuit you will find the learned, comprehensive, and profound "*Summa Theologica*" of Thomas Aquinas, the greatest philosopher since Aristotle and the greatest theologian the world ever beheld. Every Jesuit reads and understands the work, which in form and matter is a masterpiece of the human intellect. It has formed the basis of much of your education in philosophy.

Now, from personal experience and from other reliable sources of information, I assert that there is not a professor in Harvard, including the President, who knows how to translate intelligently even the first part of the "*Summa*." Oh, no! They know all about bugs and coprolites, but little of ethics or logic, and some of their graduates know less.

Gentlemen, the Jesuits have few human consolations. They have always had enemies, and are used to being calumniated and abused. But there is one pleasure of which no one can deprive them, and that is the consolation of being able as finished scholars to enjoy a hearty laugh at the shallow phrases, the false logic, the untruths and the sham erudition of their calumniators. I am satisfied that the heartiest laugh the Jesuits have had in a quarter of a century has been over President Eliot's ill-founded, ill-considered and silly attack on their colleges.

Then, gentlemen, stand by your college and stand by the Jesuits. A century before Harvard existed, the Jesuits were filling Europe with great scholars ; and centuries after Harvard has ceased to exist, the Jesuits will continue to do the same noble work. They are in the front rank of the Church, and just as sure as truth prevails in the end, the Jesuit graduates will stand in the front rank of the State. For, other things being equal, the man with the best education will forge to the front. Here, then, Catholics of Hudson county, in St. Peter's College you have an illuminating centre around which you can rally. To this college should you send your sons, if

you wish them to receive a perfect education from men who, for the past 300 years (not 400, as President Eliot ignorantly wrote) have never been equalled as trainers of the human intellect.

BACCALAUREATE SERMON

TO THE

GRADUATING CLASS OF ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

From the *Fordham Monthly*, June, 1906

"Take unto you the armour of God
that you may be able to resist in the
evil day, and to stand in all things
perfect."

(Ephes. vi., 13)

YOUNG Knights of science and of the
Cross :

Your vigil has been long and faithful,
and to-morrow you don the armor for the
battle of life. That armor is perfect, for it
was made in Heaven ; and every piece of it,
from helmet and buckler to cuirass and
greave, has been fitted, inspected, examined,
tested in every detail, by the hand and by the
eye of the fond mother, who has been for
years training your youthful minds and
bodies, for the warfare which you must
wage outside of this fortress of culture, truth
and religion.

What is the character of this warfare ? Who are your foes ? What is their weakest point ? These questions are most interesting to you, and let me briefly answer them.

For you it is a warfare of defense rather than of aggression. At the very threshold of this great Catholic University you will meet the attacking enemy. Their attack is along the whole line of your defense. The enemy begins by attacking your officers and instructors, by vilification and calumny ; but when adversaries thus begin their attack, their cause, in your eyes, must be weak, for you know your officers and instructors. You know that they have stood in front of the battle for Christian civilization and for Christian faith, among the greatest and the best in all the sciences and in all the forms of human culture, for four hundred years. You admire and love these men because you know their virtues, their scholarship and their devotion to duty. From the attack on persons, the enemy proceeds to an assault on their methods and their teachings. The very classics, which have been among the best sources of culture for your mental faculties, for your imagination, your intelligence, and your memory, are assailed by pretentious, rash and

presumptuous so-called scholars who cannot read a line of Aristotle, or of Plato, or scan a verse of Horace, or of Virgil, in the beautiful language which they wrote and which are the sources and the models of all that is best in modern literature.

But these are only preliminary skirmishes of the enemy. Your doctrine will be assailed. The philosophy, whose solid logic and correct principles, form the basis of your judgments in the ideal, in the ethical and in the social order ; your belief in the fundamental principles of natural as well as of revealed religion, — a belief founded in reason and in faith, — will be assailed by men whose reason has been perverted by false philosophy, and who have never had the gift of faith. You can prove that there is a Creator of the Universe ; that Man has a spiritual and immortal soul distinct from his body ; that the invisible world is a real world filled with real beings more numerous and more potent than those which fall under the ken of the senses in the world of matter, for all substances whether of the spiritual or of the material order are invisible and intangible. You build your convictions on solid foundations, showing the binding force of the natural and of the Divine

Law on the human conscience, establishing rights and duties incumbent on individuals and on society. Yet all your proofs and principles will be met by a general denial ; a denial of creation, of the existence of spiritual beings, of a conscience, of the essential difference between right and wrong ; and by attacks on all sides, from the discordant divisions of error and of unbelief, from materialists, pantheists, socialists, and agnostics. I have named these last, for they are the most metaphysical, and the most pretentious of the enemies of reason and of faith. Their discordant cacophony hurts the public ear from the pulpit, from the forum, and from the rostrum ; their sophisms pain the public eye in the daily press, and in all classes of literature — in the rambling novel as well as in the heavier tomes of so-called philosophy, theology and science. If the matter were not so serious, it would provoke a laugh ; and it does provoke an involuntary smile among learned Christian scholars, to behold the ignorance of those who assail the principles and doctrines which you and your professors hold dear. When I contemplate this horde of the enemies of Truth, of God and of His Christ, the words

of Dante come naturally to my mind :

“ Oh ! ye misguided souls,
Infatuate, who from such a good estrange
Your hearts, and bend your gaze on vanity.
Alas for you ! ”

Young knights of science and soldiers of the Cross, the weakest spot in your adversaries, armor is not in their malice, although that abounds ; it is not in their lack of originality, with them it is always a case of new men and old errors ; it is not in their defective scholarship, for although some of them have studied much and have made some important discoveries in science and in history, not known in the olden times, their scholarship is lop-sided like the flight of a bird with only one wing.

Their weakest spot is their ignorance in the midst of their general knowledge. They pretend to criticize and refute doctrines which they have never studied, and which they consequently do not understand. They have not studied the great masters who have taught these doctrines ; the philosophers and theologians who have for twenty centuries illuminated the Orient and the Occident with the light of brilliant research, of sublime conceptions and of trenchant and infallible

logic. To deserve the reputation of a scholar one should know all the sides of disputed questions. It is not enough to read exclusively Darwin, and Spencer, and Huxley, and thus become a narrow and limited specialist. The true scholar must read also the great writers of classic days, particularly Aristotle, the greatest thinker of them all, and the great writers of Christian times, Justin, Origen, Cyril, and Athanasius, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, the mediaeval hammer of sham logic and sham metaphysics. Why is it that men who swear by the authority of second-class intellects, like that of Huxley and of Spencer, never read a line written by the great geniuses, Albert the Great, Gratian, Peter Lombard and Boetius, according to Dante, flowers of paradise who helped to form the first garland of blessed spirits in the heaven of the Sun. You can find a cheap edition of shallow Voltaire in any large bookstore ; but you cannot even import, as I know from experience, the great work of Boetius, "*De Consolatione Philosophiae*." Yet this is a profound work and was greatly prized by the greatest poet and one of the most sublime geniuses that ever trod this little sphere of

weak, wilful and erring mortals. Your adversary may be the greatest living authority on the ant, or on the microbe ; he may know all about its habitat, its habits, and its environment ; but this knowledge, interesting and useful as it may be, does not make him competent to write an essay, for instance, on the wonderful spiritual beings called angels whose existence in God's Universe is as real as that of the ant or of the microbe. Above reason there is faith ; and faith is a living fact. The effects of faith are as well known as the effects of reason, and far more important. The saint, the man inspired by supernatural religion, is as common in history as the great soldier or the great inventor and much more beneficial in his action on humanity. The supernatural asserts itself in every page and moment of history ; and the claims of faith and of revealed religion in the realms of beneficence, art, and progress are, to say the least, equal to the claims of reason and of inductive science. How can reason grasp what is above it ? Or science dictate in a realm which to it is chiefly unknown territory ? How can men, who confine their studies to one special class of subjects or of authors, be competent to pronounce judgment on what they have never

taken the trouble to learn ? How can a man, who has warped and twisted his intellect by the exclusive study of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Nitsche and Schopenhauer, be an authority in metaphysics, if he has never studied Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, or Suarez ? How can he who degrades the faculty of imagination by limiting all knowledge to the sensible, the tangible and the sensual, ever produce a great poem, or be able to judge one impartially ? He cannot ; for the soul of all the great poems is the spiritual, and the inspiration of the greatest poems has come from the supernatural and from Christian faith. To soar to the celestial regions is the privilege of the eagle and of the lark, but not of the bat or of the owl.

Yes, young Knights of science and of the Cross, ignorance is the weakest spot in the armor of the enemy. He constantly violates elementary logic by drawing general conclusions from particular facts. He cannot fly from the material to the spiritual, because he has clipped his own wings ; and the tendency of his materialistic and agnostic teaching is to destroy the ideal in art, in literature and in human life. He becomes a dull and heavy utilitarian or a flippant scoffer. He would

deprive humanity, for the future, of the possibility of being ennobled by the existence of a Raphael, of a Michael Angelo, of a Milton, of a Dante, or of a Shakespeare. His theories would eventually destroy even the masterpieces of architecture ; for cathedrals have no meaning if there is no spiritual order. He would abolish the saints, those wonderful men and women who have sacrificed themselves for the good of others ; and establish, as the only important things on earth, factories, restaurants and dens of vice. By destroying faith he would destroy idealism, art morality and good taste.

Under every error in philosophy and in theology, there is ignorance. There never was an infidel yet who was a universally and deeply educated man. Some of the most aggressive unbelievers have been ridiculously ignorant of the elementary truths which they attacked. Every Christian scholar knows this. From the first to the last, error is based on false logic, on false assumption, misconceptions and false conclusions. I appeal to all the false theologies, to all the false philosophies. The ignorance of unbelief ! Why it is appalling. There are graduates of universities who have high sounding titles, yet who are unable

to translate an article of Thomas Aquinas ; interpreters of works on Scripture who do not know the Hebrew alphabet ; writers of history who never consulted an original document, or verified a statement ; pulpit orators who never read a line of the Christian Fathers ; writers on ethical subjects in the daily press, whose only sources of information appear to be their own callow, shallow heads ; scribblers who have a faculty for words but none for ideas.

Then, young Knights of science and of the Cross, forth to the conflict. Guard well your batteries, among them your simple text-books, which you should always cherish, and in which you will usually find a sufficient answer to the attacks made on your principles. So far, and I speak as a veteran, I have never met a difficulty in philosophy or theology which was not solved in a Catholic text-book of philosophy or theology. When the difficulty is serious, remember that the sword of faith put into your hands on the day of your baptism, is sharp enough to cut the gordian knot. Always remember in the hour of doubt the words of Thomas Aquinas' grand hymn : "*Prætet fides supplementum, Sensuum defectui.*"

But, Sir Knights, the combat is not to be always defensive ; frequently it must be offensive. You must protect the citadel of truth by both species of warfare. But if it must be offensive, then charge with faith and courage. Truth fears no foe in shining armor ; the spear of truth will pierce the thickest corselet of error. Charge as the immortal eight hundred knights charged, who, seven hundred years ago, after saying the Rosary, followed the standard of gallant Simon de Montfort from the Church of Muret, in the thirteenth century, and routed the Albigensian hordes—those enemies of Christian faith, morality and discipline, on the banks of the Garonne. Unlike those knights you will need neither sword nor spear ; faith and learning suffice. Remember that when nature corresponds with grace, victory always perches on the banner of the Christian soldier. The sources of grace he finds not only in prayer, but also in the sacramental streams that perennially flow in the Church of which he is a citizen and a soldier. If he is wounded, the waters of Penance are always healing, and the Divine Bread and the Divine Wine of the Eucharist are always strengthening ; and the consecrated oil of Extreme Unction will

soothe his sufferings, and smoothe his passage through the dark portals of death to eternal felicity.

Then "Take unto you the armor of God that you may be able to resist in the evil day and to stand in all things perfect."

ADDRESS
TO THE
GRADUATES OF
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE,
JUNE 17, 1907, AT CARNEGIE MUSIC HALL.
BEING AN APPEAL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION.

IT is a fundamental axiom of Catholic life that every school, whether primary, intermediate, high school, college or university, should teach in its curriculum of study, belief in the divinity of Christ, and consequently, in the divinity of His doctrines and of His moral code. These truths we hold to be essential to the salvation of human souls, and also to the salvation of morality the true basis of national life. We are astonished, therefore, that those outside the Church who hold these truths in common with us, fail to follow out, as we do, their immediate and logical consequences. Why is this? Is the terrible bird of prey which Dante says took shelter in the

tail of the cowl of the false preacher of his time, still hatching cockatrices in our pretentious non Catholic pulpits ? Why do not these preachers stand true to the Christian flag as we do ?

We hoist the glorious Cross, first, over the primary school in which the children of the poor are educated, that they may grow up imbued with the Christian virtues of self-restraint, patience and honesty, for we know full well that when the rattlesnake of envy and hate enters into the heart of man the white dove of faith and love takes flight, and that the hands destined for patient toil change into rapacious claws, more ready to wield the dagger of the assassin or the bomb of the coward murderer, than the implements of honest labor.

We hoist the same flag over the high school and the college ; because we know that the higher one climbs the more dangerous becomes the ascent of the mountain, and the more necessary the guide to show the road that lies between chasm and precipice.

Over the university we hoist the same flag, for He for Whom it stands is Incarnate Truth and the Light of the world, illuminating the intelligence of every man coming into it, and

illuminating all the dark alleys of philosophy and of science.

Following the flag with zeal and ardor, the poor build and support our splendid elementary parochial schools: I say the poor do this work; for as yet, no wealthy man in this city has built and endowed a parochial school, although it is an institution much more important than a library or a picture gallery. But when there is question of making the sacrifices required to give children a collegiate or university education, Catholics of all classes fall short of their obligations. The greed of parents often steps between the talented boy and the goal of his ambition; and hence, he whose talents justified the hope that he would become eminent in the State or in the Church, is doomed to stay at the foot of the ladder, and waste his sweetness on the desert air. True love for the children's welfare should inspire more self-sacrifice in this regard.

All the statistics show that the greatest number of those who have achieved success in the learned professions, or in commercial pursuits, are college or university-bred men; and that the uneducated must always remain at the bottom. The United States Census of 1900 shows in our population 14,794,403 men

over thirty years of age. Of these 1,757,023 had no education ; 12,054,335, had a common school education ; 657,432 had a high school education, and 325,613 had a college education. No notable person, who is not educated, appears on the social registers of the country. The notables are apportioned among the educated classes in the ratio of one for every 8,812 among those who have only a common school education ; one in every 404 of the high school alumni, and one out of every 42 of the college and university men. Thus do we see the importance and the necessity of higher education for those who wish to advance to the first social rank. Although, in some respects, our colleges are the best equipped for giving such an education (for they make a specialty of the classics and of mental philosophy), yet they are not adequately supported or patronized by our own people. It is necessary, if Catholics want to take that place in the social scale to which their numbers, their talents and their wealth entitle them, that a larger percentage of them should receive a collegiate or a university education. They should emulate the example of our Hebrew fellow citizens who take advantage of every opportunity for

their intellectual and economic advancement.

Our parochial schools are full, and if we had a hundred more of them in this great city we could fill them also. Parents want them and the children love them. But how is it with our high schools and colleges? Why! gentlemen, our Alma Mater, St. Francis Xavier's, one of the oldest and best of the Catholic high schools and colleges in the country, would count its students by the thousands, if the Catholics of New York did their whole duty, and the great University at Fordham could immediately become the greatest resplendent centre of learning and of culture through the munificent endowments of generous Catholic citizens.

But instead of patronizing these model schools many of our people send their children to irreligious schools, or so-called fashionable schools ("mollycoddle" schools, I call them), where there is no more of real moral training than there is of brain and of back-bone in a mollusk.

Gentlemen, beware of the false god who is the cause of such indifference to the welfare of the young. You will find him presiding in the third circle of the Dantean hell: Pluto, the god of Greed. Yes! greed that moves

the anarchist and the socialist, the dishonest poor man, and the dishonest rich one; greed ! that urges to the worship of the Golden Calf, rather than melt it into coin and use it for beneficent purposes. And yet, gentlemen, all the golden calves from Moses down to our day, if melted and stamped into coin, would not be equal to one product of the intellect or of art ; to one oration of Demosthenes, to one sermon of Bossuet, one Canto of Dante, one painting of Raphael, or to one statue of Michael Angelo. Avoid Pluto, for he leads his votaries astray. Love the traditions of your school ; and keep to the straight road. A straight line is the shortest distance between two points. The arrow that is shot straight always strikes down the quarry. The best speech is that which goes most directly to the point. The cleverest essay is the one that marches according to the laws of composition, and laws are straight lines. The most successful and the most honorable career is that which has never chosen the crooked path. Success, wealth, honors, if achieved by devious ways, are either counterfeits or tarnished by dishonor and infamy. And it needs no quotation from Shakespeare to tell you that the loss of honor and of fame are

the greatest of natural losses. Keep in view the straight line, gentlemen, and then, when you will have been alumni fifty years, you will look back along that straight line from its point of departure in St. Francis Xavier's College to the point where it terminates in Heaven, with love and veneration for the courteous gentlemen, the devoted friends, the learned professors and the unconquerable soldiers of the Crucifix who showed you the way and led the van.

THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AND THE STATE

ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE
OF ST. CECILIA'S PAROCHIAL SCHOOL,
IN ENGLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY,
ON SUNDAY, JUNE 2nd, 1901.

[T is nearly thirty five years ago since the Rev. Dr. Corrigan, then Vice President of Seton Hall College, and now the Archbishop of New York, laid the corner-stone of your church, dedicated to St. Cecilia, Patroness of music. The church and the place are very dear to me, for this was my first parish, and yours is the first church I ever built; and hence you can imagine the great pleasure it gives me to address you on this occasion. It is peculiarly pleasant for me to see among you many who were present at the laying of that corner-stone in what was then the scattered hamlet of Englewood, now grown to be a thriving and prosperous city.

If I should ask you now, and if I could

call back the dead and ask them also, whether the erection of this church was a benefit or an injury to the neighborhood, all would answer that the building was a blessing. Catholics would say so because they remember the many spiritual favors and graces imparted to them from the Sacraments received at its hallowed altar. Non-Catholics would admit at least the financial and commercial value of a Catholic church. It brings Catholics to the place where it is built, and makes them content to remain in it, for no good Catholic wants to live where he cannot hear Mass and have the services of a priest to give him the Sacraments. Although specially intended for Catholics, your church has benefitted all. It has increased the population of the place and enhanced the value of the property of the citizens, for nothing can benefit a part without benefitting the community taken as a whole. No one will deny that the Church has also preserved and increased the purity, the honesty, and the sobriety of the people, and promoted law and order in the community. This is the record of your church and of your priests.

Now after thirtyfive years of struggle and progress, prompted by the teaching of the

Vicar of Christ and of all the bishops, but particularly of all the American bishops assembled in the last Plenary Council of Baltimore, you lay the corner-stone of a parochial school, a necessary annex of the church, a fortress to defend and preserve the faith and morals imposed on all men by the divine Redeemer of the human race, Jesus Christ our Lord and our God.

What is a parochial school ? Let me briefly answer this question, and some of the objections made against the parochial school system of the Catholic Church.

The parochial school is the school of the parish. The parish is a limited district in a diocese, and is governed by a parish priest. His subjects are the Christian families of the district. The parish has the same relation to the diocese that the township has to the state. The one is an ecclesiastical, the other a civil division. The parochial school is a Christian school because its purpose is Christian, it is founded by Christians, controlled by Christians, and because its pupils are Christian children, under the control of Christian teachers. No infidel or agnostic is allowed to teach in a Christian school. The children learn in this school all that they

could learn in any other. The course of secular instruction is the same in parochial as in the state school; and although the state school is supported by all the power of the state and by all its wealth drawn from general taxation, the parochial school, although built and supported chiefly by the contributions of the poor, holds its own and compares favorably with the state school in general results. In a long experience I have yet failed to see any superiority of the children of the state schools over the children of the parochial school.

The influence of religion on the teacher and on the child in the parochial school, makes both conscientious in the discharge of duty; the one has a higher motive in teaching, the other is more industrious in study. A common Christian faith and a common Christian charity, unite teachers and pupils in a union of hearts as well as of intellects. The spiritual and the ideal as well as the material find a place in the parochial school.

But besides the secular education a specific religious education is given in the parochial school. Religion is not merely for adults. If it is good for the old, it is good for the young. Every child in the parochial school is instructed in the principles of Christian faith,

and taught to obey the precepts of Christian morality. The child is taught to pray to God, to reverence holy persons and holy things, to revere the Bible as the inspired word of God, to know and keep the ten Commandments, and thus become sober, chaste, honest, truthful and obedient; to be a good Christian and consequently a good citizen. In a word, the parochial school specifically tends to preserve and promote Christian faith and morals. Now how can any Christian fail to appreciate this training? How can a man call himself a believer in the Divinity of Christ, and oppose a training which is founded on that dogma? An enemy of Christianity, an agnostic or an infidel, might; or if there be a man who hates the name of Christian, he might find fault; but every Christian must logically approve the action of the Catholic Church in insisting on the religious education of the young. I cannot weary you by a complete development of this subject; but I shall put my argument in a short syllogism and challenge the world to gainsay it.

Whoever believes in Christian faith and morals should help whatever specifically tends to preserve and promote them; but the parochial school specifically tends to preserve and

promote Christian faith and morals ; therefore whoever believes in Christian faith and morals should help the parochial school.

I ask those gentlemen, who call themselves ministers of Christ and yet attack our Christian schools, to reflect on this argument and answer it if they can. Let them be just to the parochial school. Is this a Christian country ? Is the majority Christian ? If it is, why is it that no child is allowed to learn the Christian religion in a state school, and that teachers are forbidden by law to teach any form of Christianity in a state school ? Yet the majority of the parents, the majority of the children, and the majority of the teachers are Christian ; and the lawmakers are supposed to be Christian. What an anomaly !

But it will be said : " We want no union of Church and State ". Why ? Is it a crime for the state to aid the Church ? Does not the Church, unasked, aid the state ? Remove the Church and what becomes of the state. Why then should not the State reciprocate ? The three greatest nations of Europe to-day are those in which there is the closest union between the Church and the state. The state in Russia, England and Germany helps the Church ; and the state is not weakened by

the alliance. Politics are neither pure nor sound when they are not moral, they cannot be moral without religion, and the Church is organized religion.

Now Catholics certainly want no such union of Church and state as exists in Russia, England, or Germany; but they are not frightened by "bugaboos", or by the stage thunder of so-called Christians who do not believe in the Bible; or by sham patriots who talk about the "flag" while they are pocketing the appropriations. To exempt people who build and support their own schools from the burden of double taxation which they are now paying for education, or to give them back in subsidies a part of their own money, is not a union of Church and state. The doing of this would simply be an act of justice to fifteen millions of Americans, a very large and efficient portion of the population. In many cities and towns, Catholics are the majority of the inhabitants. Surely they deserve some consideration for all that they are doing to prevent the spread of anarchy and socialism. No power in the country is so strong as the Catholic Church in enforcing the Commandments "Thou shalt not kill", "Thou shalt not commit adult-

ery", "Thou shalt not steal", "Thou shalt commit no perjury" the horrible sin now so prevalent.

But there are people who say: "It cannot be done. We cannot solve the problem. It is not fair, we know, but we cannot help it". Such talk is an insult to American statesmanship. Germany has solved the problem and recognized the parochial school. England has partially solved it. Canada has solved it. Is it not an insult to American politicians to say that they cannot solve a simple problem which has been solved by the politicians of a neighboring province? The solution is easy if you follow the natural law of justice. But whether it is solved or not, my friends, we shall go on building and supporting Christian schools to preserve Christian faith and morals which are our best inheritance. We believe them necessary for the good of the country and we believe them necessary for the salvation of our immortal souls, for, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul"? Matthew XVI. V. 26.

PART FOURTH
HYMNS

HYMN TO ST. AGNES

AS SUNG BY THE CHILDREN

AT ST. AGNES' SCHOOL NEW YORK

Thou art as pure as beam of golden dawn,
Or snow-flake falling on a verdant lea ;
Or crystal dewdrop on a flowery lawn,
Or fleck of foam upon the crested sea.

Fair as the star that heralds in the day,
Or the chaste queen that rules the gloomy night ;
With silver arrows drives the clouds away,
And puts their dusky, dismal hosts to flight.

White virgin rose of early Christian days,
Made red by blood upon the martyr's block ;
Thy purity the theme of endless praise,
Thy fortitude a model for the flock.

Brave child that nobly pagan Rome defied,
And fearless stood before the brutal throng
That for thy blood in savage accents cried ;
Thou heroine worthy of our festal song !

Nor lust, nor lucre could defile thy vows,
Nor flame, nor sword make thee from truth depart,
Nor death disloyal to thy Heavenly Spouse,
The Lord and Master of thy loving heart.

Pure Agnes ! fruit of incarnated love,
Effect sublime of sanctifying grace ;
Rival of angels, Mary's spotless dove,
Seraphic light illumines thy holy face.

With martyr's crown resplendent on thy brow,
To hear our prayer in gracious pity deign !
Through thee may Christ our souls with grace en-
And glorious in our hearts repentant reign ! [dow

PRAYER TO THE MADONNA.

Thou potent star of ocean's gloomy deeps,
That ceaseless vigil o'er our voyage keeps,
Shine on our lives in splendor ever clear,
Mother of Christ, thy suppliants deign to hear.

Thou snow-white bud in God's fair garden grown,
Thou Sharon Rose in fullest beauty blown ;
Into our hearts thy sweet perfume distill,
And make us, Mary, do thy holy will.

Of maids and mothers thou supreme and blest,
In whose chaste womb the child divine found rest ;
Have gracious mercy on the dead we love,
And bring them quickly to thy realm above.

Our hearts are sad, fond mother, be our friend ;
Our lives are lone, thy hand consoling lend ;
The path has pitfalls, Mary, be our guide,
Curb thou our senses and put down our pride.

Our sins are many ; virgin, make them few,
Our souls are stained, their spotless robes renew ;
Cursed Satan for us hath spread many a snare,
Preserve us, Mary ; Mother, hear our prayer.

PART FIFTH

ESSAYS

ESSAY ON THE POPES.

... « the king, that shall reign over you : He will take your sons, and put them in his chariots, and will make them his horsemen, and his running footmen to run before his chariots... And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your best oliveyards, and give them to his servants... And you shall cry out that day, from the face of the king, whom you have chosen to yourselves... But the people would not hear the voice of Samuel, and they said : Nay : but there shall be a king over us. » — 1 Kings viii, 11-19.

« And the asses of Cis Saul's father were lost : and Cis said to his son Saul : Take one of the servants with thee, and arise, go and seek the asses. » — 1 Kings ix. 3.

SAMUEL was the last of the pope-kings of the Hebrew people. Their government was a theocracy till after his time. His sons, like the sons of Heli, abused their office, as the agents of every civil government are liable to do. The consequence of this abuse is always the same discontent and turbulence among the governed when they find it out. Very often this disaffection leads to excesses. Sometimes designing men take advantage of it and surprise the easily led populace into desiring and effecting political changes worse than their preceding condition. The mistake, however, is frequently found out too late for a remedy. Revolution once established is

with difficulty overthrown. In vain may the wise warn the people of the abyss into which they are rushing ; show them that actual troubles are not essential flaws but only partial and accidental defects, which may be presently remedied, or which will speedily pass away ; the mob, blinded and deafened by passion, will not listen, and, not foreseeing, will continue to press onward in their mad purpose to disorder and ruin. Some Samuel may advise, may tell them of the new oppression and burdens which the proposed change will bring, but demagogues will drown his voice, and the people *will* say : “ Nay, but our reform shall be carried out, ” as the Jews said, “ Nay, but there shall be a king over us. ” How often has oppression been introduced under the name of liberty ; how many acts of dishonesty have been covered under the cloak of hypocritical reform ! How often have the people, like the frogs, who foolishly petitioned Jupiter, found the inoffensive log-king changed into the ravenous water-snake. Saul was in quest of his father’s asses, when he was chosen first king of the Israelites, and since his time the history of many political revolutions would lead us to infer that the ears of those animals had been

often transferred to the heads of the masses. The treatment which the Popes have received at the hands of the Romans in many instances is an exact counterpart of the treatment of Samuel by the Jews. Accidental and transitory imperfections there may have been under papal temporal sway, as there will be under every human government ; but judged by the light of reason and history, these shortcomings can never justify the charges of despotism alleged by some, and the insurrections against them concocted and carried out by others. Judged by the light of reason and history, despotic or licentious kings may have had cause to complain ; unprincipled statesmen may have found occasion to protest against the Papacy ; but whenever the masses have sympathized with its enemies, from the days of the emperor who crucified Peter to those of the king who despoiled Pius, they have been true to the character of their prototypes, the asses of Saul's father. Heavier burdens have been laid on their backs by the kings than ever the gentle Samuels of the Church would have caused them to carry. How they groan now under grinding taxation and universal conscription !

Logically, the Popes are by their very

office the guardians of popular liberty. The tendency of all civil government is towards centralization. Men who have power, whether they be the officials of a monarchy or of a republic, as a rule, desire and strive to increase their power and influence, in virtue of a foible inherent in our common nature. Man loves to have power. One of our ablest thinkers has recently epitomized this truth in the following words : “ In framing every government hitherto instituted amongst men, one of the aims was to enable the rulers — by which is meant the office-holders — to gratify their ambition or their avarice, or both, at the expense of the ruled — that is to say, the mass of the people. The former, as military or political leaders, have always laid the foundations, and have anticipated, at the least, employment in superintending the structure. Purity of motive may be admitted in many cases, so far as individual consciousness is concerned, but self-love is both inherent and blind. The founder, while conscious of no object but the public good, has always had an eye to his own gratification, and his work has invariably been in some respects accommodated to that end. This infirmity tainted the most ancient political structures,

and has in some degree affected all their successors. Organizing places and public employments has ever received an attention not measured by necessity, or, in other words, by the interests of the people. We have seen accordingly that, whilst ostracizing monarchy, the founders of the American Union invested it with most of the powers by which the few had oppressed the many in all previous times" (Hon. Charles O'Connor, in the *Day Book* of May 1, 1875). The affirmations of this distinguished jurist and political philosopher, whose science and genius are as unquestioned as his integrity, are proven by facts. For what means political party but an organized band of men united for the purposes of obtaining power and emolument? The politician, having once gained place or power, is anxious to keep it and increase its perquisites. The interest of the people may be the war-cry of the political campaign; but rarely, perhaps never, does the office-seeker prefer their interests to his own. History on every page attests the truth that the rulers of states and the agents of the civil power have been frequently corrupt and corrupting. Politics even in our free government is a sink of corruption, and the term "politician"

is not ordinarily one of honor. It is identified in the popular mind with lack of principle and love of booty. Whether the civil government be an Oriental despotism, with its fratricides and its harems, or modern empires, with burdensome taxation and galling conscriptions ; a Grecian republic, jealous of its best citizens, and exiling or putting them to death ; a mediæval monarchy, with its licentious kings and plundering barons ; or a mediæval republic with its factions, its secret councils, and silent assassinations ; or a modern constitutional monarchy, with its rotten boroughs, lack of honor, and its perpetual purchase and sale of office, even though the office be a religious one ; or a modern democracy, with its swindling cliques and shameless traders in principle — it must be admitted that civil administrators can seldom be held up to the popular admiration as models of honesty, truthfulness, or patriotism. Strange, nevertheless, that the people so frequently worship the state, which, in fact, is the office-holders, as an idol, even when they should have an aversion for its oppression and injustice ! Such being the tendency of all civil administration, no matter what its form, it behooves the private citizen

who loves his liberty to look for an adequate barrier to the aggression of the ruler, a sufficient curb for his despotism, an unflinching guide that will not be swerved from the path of truth and honesty by any governmental interference. Liberty must rest on truth, honesty, and authority. The greatest lover of the mass of the people, one who was born of them and among the lowest of them, told them with divine authority that the truth would make them free. (1) Without truth men cannot know their rights, so consequently they cannot assert and defend them. Without honesty, the right of property — the chief civic right — is violated; and without the restraint of authority liberty degenerates into license; and under the license of a mob liberty may be as effectually crushed as under the heel of a czar or a kaiser. Happy is the society, therefore, in which this adequate barrier against despotism, this unwavering judge of right and law, can be found to protect the governed from the aggressions of the governing classes. It is evidently to the interest of the governed to have some strong, organized, and unyielding power independent

(1) John viii, 32: "And you shall know the truth, and truth shall make you free."

of the civil authority, to check and curb it. Now, where shall the citizen find this power?

Not in the state itself, or in any of its elements, for, as the part follows the nature of the whole, no part of the state can be a barrier to its own power. The state is corruptible and mutable, and therefore any element of it would also be mutable and corruptible. It must, therefore, be either an internal power different from the state, or an external power foreign to it ; and when we analyze, we find there are only two such powers : the first being each individual's conscience ; the second, the Catholic Church.

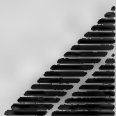
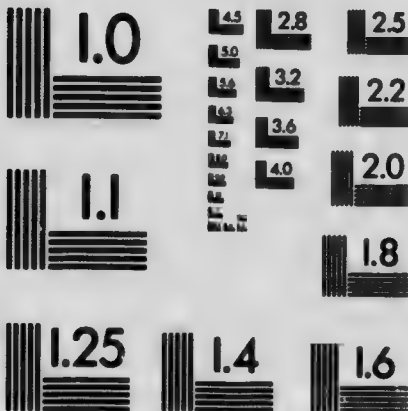
Conscience is unquestionably independent of the state, and has always proved a great barrier to civic despotism. It may manifest its opposition to despotism in three ways — either individually, by personal protest ; or by appeal through some organ to other individuals ; or collectively, by the voluntary co-operation of associated individuals. But what can the individual avail against organized power ? He may protest, and die a martyr, as thousands have done ; but his resistance is but as a drop resisting an ocean. He may cry out to his fellow-men, but innate selfishness will deter the majority from assisting him.

He may not have the means of expressing his views ; and even when he has, it is most frequently ineffectual. Even the free press, the most powerful organ of the private conscience in opposing despotism, is an inadequate barrier to it. The editor's sanctum is no *Vatican*. He will seldom say *non possumus* to a large bribe. We need not go to the " reptile " press of Germany of France or of Italy, for proofs of the subserviency and degradation of the newspaper. Despotism as frequently owns it as freedom, and it is as often the slave of the king, the rich corporation, or the oppressing party, as the champion of popular liberty. No one disputes the great influence which the *Fourth Estate*, as it has been felicitously called, has wielded in modern times by throwing the bright light of public opinion on the acts and projects of rulers, but its conduct has not always been so consistently marked by truth and honesty as to make it an *adequate* barrier to the inroads of our civil rulers on personal and real rights. The remedy should be commensurate with the disease. But what were the people to do for a champion, a defender, and a protector in those long centuries before the invention of printing, when there was no press — when



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there was not only no *Fourth Estate*, but not even a *Third Estate*, in the realms? What newspaper could lash the haughty barons, the office-holders of the Middle Ages, who claimed liberty for themselves, but never thought of "the villeins and slaves," as they were called. The "villeins and slaves," the most numerous class in the kingdom, were not mentioned in Magna Charta. "They, of course, could have no claim to participate in the privileges of freemen." (1) When violence held the place of law, the baron's sword was mightier than the writer's pen. These considerations should make critics less severe on Pope Innocent III. for finally taking sides against the barons in their quarrel with King John; for although the conflict and their victory did eventually aid the cause of popular liberty, they, in common with their class throughout the whole of feudal Europe, had no regard for the lives or liberties of the masses of the people. We cannot speak of the people's property, for they had none. The baron was often a greater tyrant within the limits of his own jurisdiction than the king; and the feudal castle was too often a vulture's nest from which the ravenous birds descended

(1) Lingard, vol. iii., p. 57. O'Shea's edition, 1860.

to prey on the poor serfs of the plain and batten on their spoils. The barons were frequently the prototypes of many modern office-holders.

No voluntary collection of individuals in clubs or parties can be a sufficient barrier to civic despotism, though we admit that they may do almost as much as the press. The resistance of voluntary associations is often demoralizing, for it has to be done in secret and dubious ways, and is seldom successful. It is the attack of a guerilla band against a regular army. The very fact of its being *voluntary* makes it unreliable and lacking in cohesion. Its bond may be broken; its members purchased. A cynical statesman like Talleyrand, whose own experience at least taught him the truth of his maxim, that "every man has his price," would make short work of a voluntary association of free-men. A strong organized state despotism wielded by an unscrupulous and energetic tyrant, like Bismarck, would easily crush a half-organized society possessing no absolute principle of authority or cohesion. One blow from his iron gauntlet would crush to atoms the vacillating elements of so-called free associations. Has he not done it? They must

organize under the state laws and proclaim themselves obedient to them in every respect, soul and body, in order to be allowed to exist. If they do not do this, they become slinking, sneaking conspiracies, hiding underground ; and we know that conspiracy seldom has permanent success, and always achieves it in direct violation of law and order. It cannot, therefore, be a satisfactory remedy to a conscientious citizen. It would be a sad state of affairs, indeed, if the people had no other remedy against civil despotism than secret societies, which unman the citizens and turn them into burrowing moles, afraid of daylight, and which, by creating mutual distrust, demoralize the community.

The most powerful form of voluntary association is what is called the Church, in the pagan or Protestant sense. But this, too, is absolutely inadequate as a barrier to civil aggression on popular rights. No minister of any religion which does not claim supremacy in the moral order over the state can sufficiently curb its innate aggressiveness. In fact, none of the great religions of antiquity or of modern times, with one exception, laid claim to any such supremacy. The priests of paganism were mere state officers. A reason fre-

quently alleged by the pagans to justify the cruel persecutions of the early Christians, was that they were traitors to the state, and would not admit its absolute supremacy or the divinity of the emperor. Protestantism almost universally considers the Church as an inferior corporation to the state — a mere college to be regulated by state ordinances and absolutely guided by state laws.

In Europe, at least, the more orthodox Protestantism is the more slavish is its teaching in this respect. Passive obedience and extreme Toryism, which exaggerates the royal prerogative, are the products of Anglican Protestantism, incarnated in such despots as Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. The Anglican ministers were generally Tories in our Revolutionary war. On the other hand, those Protestants who on the ground of the inalienable rights of the individual conscience have fought against despotism, and opposed its encroachments on popular liberty, religious and civil, are always in danger of running into license, which is not liberty, but as hostile to true liberty as is despotism. Their individual conscience is as mutable as a vane. Individual conscience, unless guided, is often as extravagant in

political affairs as it is known to be in matters of religion. No doubt Prudhon, as well as the modern Communists, who believed property to be theft, had a conscience in politics equally as good as that of John of Leyden, the crazy Anabaptists, Balfour of Burley, and the other English Regicides, Joanna Southcote, or the lunatics of Blackwell's Island or Mrs Eddy and the Christian scientists. Even where this Protestant conscience speaks through a certain conservative church organization, it runs into dangerous theories, as in the case of John Knox and the Scotch Presbyterians, for instance. Let us in passing remark that it is strange that Mr. Gladstone should go so far away from home to attack the loyalty of Catholic British subjects, when he could have found a remedy beyond the Grampian Hills to ease his *cacoethes* of controversy, and find among the archives of Scotland a bull of John Knox, as hard to manage as any of the other wild cattle of the country, and far more damaging to the loyalty of Presbyterians than the Papal bulls could be to the loyalty of Catholics.

John Knox, the pope of Edinburg, during a part of the reign of Elizabeth, thus wrote to

the Presbyterians in Scotland : “ Which things ” (namely, the overthrow of the existing authorities of the realm to suit their *consciences*), “ after all humble request, if ye cannot attain them with open and solemn protestation of your obedience to be given to the authority in all things not plainly repugning to God, ye lawfully may attempt the extremity which is to provide whether the authority ” (civil) “ will consent or not, that Christ’s evangel may be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly ministered unto you and to your brethren, the subjects of that realm. And further, ye lawfully may, yea and thereto are bound, to defend your brethren from persecution and tyranny, be it against princes or emperors, to the utmost of your power ” (*apud* McCrie, quoted by Lingard, vol. vi., p. 13, 14, Dolman’s edition, A. D. 1855). Mr. Gladstone might have searched the whole Roman bullary for stronger language than this. The doctrine of Knox in this matter is still the doctrine of the Scotch Kirk. It is a doctrine similar to that which our late Secretary of State, William H. Seward, called “ the higher law,” or the reserved rights of each man’s conscience in presence of the law. As the conscience

is to have no guide or adviser but itself, the conservative statesman may well ask himself, into how many more "irrepressible conflicts" will it lead us? Who will stop fanaticism or licence when you make the absolute independence and supremacy of the unguided individual's conscience the supreme judge in all things spiritual and temporal? Besides, how could the Protestant conscience promote civil liberty at a period when Protestantism was unknown? Historically, the origin and progress of Protestantism were marked by despotism all over Europe. The first Protestants fawned on the civil power, so that it might aid them: and the Catholics then became for a time subservient, for they had to look to the state for protection. Through these influences the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the golden ages of Christian despots—of Louis XIV., of Henry VIII., and Philip II. The ideas of pagan Cæsarism were revived. They have their realisation now in the Protestant despot of Germany and the Protestant — for his system is Protestant — despot of Russia! They represent the orthodox Protestant Toryism; while the licence of the French Revolution and of the late Paris Commune is but the realization of

Knox's theory — *i. e.* the individual conscience run mad.

Much then as we appreciate the brave efforts of noble men, of incorruptible journalists and honest citizens, in their defence of popular liberty, we fail to see a sufficient barrier to despotism in the individual conscience, no matter how it may assert its influence, even by a free press or a Protestant clergy.

The only adequate barrier, therefore, is the Catholic Church, or the Popes, her rulers. They are the only power that claims independence or a moral supremacy over the state, and, as we have shown that a power, to be an adequate check upon state aggression, must be independent and supreme, the character of defender of popular liberty must go to the Papacy by default. The Popes always understood popular rights, before Luther bellowed or the press spoke. It is not necessary for our purpose to prove the Pope's right to moral power. It is sufficient that he claims it, and that his claim is allowed by such an immense majority of the civilized inhabitants of the world. Two hundred and fifty millions of enlightened citizens believing in the moral supremacy of a certain power over the state ;

acknowledging the judicial character of this power; and holding it to be absolute and infallible as an arbiter of right, of law, of morals, and of religious belief, make of it by this fact alone, precluding altogether from any divine or supernatural character, an adequate — yes, more than adequate — check to civil despotism. But how much greater becomes its curbing influence when we consider that those two hundred and fifty millions believe the Papal power to be divine and supernatural! Remark, too, that this power is essentially conservative.

A divided allegiance, provided it be not logically contradictory, is always the best guarantee of freedom. Undivided allegiance to one person tends to centralize his power and enslave his subject; but where there is a division without contradiction, the one allegiance serves as a check and balance to the other. Does not the beauty of our own government precisely consist in the divided yet subordinate allegiance of the citizen, first to the separate State and then to the General Government? This very division checks the centralizing tendency of the General Government, though experience teaches that it is not an all-sufficient protection. This lack of

division is the reason why any usurper who could seize the capital became at once the ruler of certain countries in Europe. As our State government, however, is very inferior to our General Government, the one has never served as a perfect check on the other. It is only in the Catholic theory that we find the equal and the superior of the central government in the moral power of an infallible Papacy. Hence the voice of liberty has always been heard in the organized and conservative conscience of the Catholic Church, speaking through its mouth-piece, the Sovereign Pontiff. By the very nature of his office, he must be the champion of popular liberty.

He is an elected monarch. He may be taken from, and very often has been taken from the lowest class of the people, and consequently will frequently have the sympathies of a common origin with them. This was especially beneficial when aristocracy was the only thing honored in the state. He is above the civil power in his spiritual capacity as chief priest and chief executive of the supernatural order. He is the supreme judge of faith and morals for the rulers as well as for the people. His doctrinal judg-

ments are infallible, and consequently incorruptible, for they are based on divine faith, over which he has no power — hence his *non possumus*. He is at the head of a world-wide institution, which, even if it were a mere natural society, is the strongest and most unbending on this earth. Who ever thought of bending the Catholic Church, or who ever tried to do so but failed ? A priest you may corrupt, a bishop you may pervert, but the dogmatic judgments of the Supreme Pontiff you can no more change than you can alter the Ten Commandments or any other of the immutable dictates of reason or faith. It is evident that the people must find in this authority of the Pontiff a protector of their rights. He is above their king or emperor or president, and when they appeal to him for a decision in a case disputed between them and their ruler, it is his duty to decide, and he, being infallible, must decide in favor of honesty, morality, and liberty, even though by doing so he may have to condemn some mighty potentate and draw on himself his enmity. An emperor or a king is the same in equity before Papal law as the negro slave. (1)

(1) The learned reader will observe that in this first part of the thesis I have omitted all those proofs which might be drawn from Catholic

PART II.

Now, as a matter of history, let us see if the Popes have been faithful to the rôle which their office gives them as protectors of popular liberty. If we listen to the superficial or the bigoted, we shall be led to suppose that of all human tyrants the greatest has been the Pope, the old giant whom Bunyan describes in the "Pilgrim's Progress"; that the Papacy is a synonym for despotism; and that Papist and slave are identical terms. But what says history from the first to the last? Have the Popes opposed or fostered liberty? The answer of history, like the answer of reason, is that the Papacy has ever been the champion of popular rights.

Let us, in the first place, see what the

dogmatic theology, and especially from the writings of the mediæval Scholastics. They were almost all what has been termed « Ultramontanes, » yet how republican are their teachings, how almost identical in spirit with our own American ideas regarding political government and the restricted authority of political rulers! Indeed, the more a theologian exalts the Papal power, the less he thinks of the royal power. You can hardly ever find a Catholic theologian, except a Gallican, to defend the « divine right » of kings! The Jesuits always opposed the slavish theory of the Gallicans. I have omitted the purely dogmatic proofs, as I shall omit many of the historical proofs, so as not to make the thesis too theological or too heavy. I give rather those arguments which will strike most forcibly the popular mind.

Popes have done for advancement of so-called Anglo-Saxon liberty, since Americans inherit it and glory in its name. We call it Anglo-Saxon, though the term is not appropriate, for the Anglo-Saxon is but a very small element in the English race. The first inhabitants of England were Britons or Celts, who afterwards amalgamated and miscegenated for centuries with the Romans and the Picts and Scots, before the Anglo-Saxon invasion. Then came the blending of the Danish and Norman elements, still further to modify the habits, customs, and character of the people.

The mixed blood and political institutions of the English people can no more be identified with the original Anglo-Saxon than the compound of sugar, lemon, hot water, spice, and liquor, known as punch, can be called a simple element. It is, in fact, the seafaring, imperious and brave Norman element, the true sons of Rollo the "Ganger," that has given to England her importance and quasi hegemony. Even titles of nobility, Saxon in name, are of Norman origin, and in most cases their owners are of Norman extraction. "The Norman Conqueror conferred on his principal favorites another distinction, honorable in

itself, profitable to the possessors, and necessary for the stability of the Norman power. This was the Earldom, or command of the seven counties. Odo was created Earl of Kent, and Hugh of Avranches Earl of Chester, with royal jurisdiction within their respective earldoms. Fitzosbern obtained the Earldom of Hereford, Roger Montgomery that of Shropshire, Walter Giffan that of Buckingham, Alan of Bretagne that of Richmond, and Ralph Guader that of *Norfolk*.

In the Saxon times such dignities were usually granted for life. William made them hereditary in the same family." (1) Although we hear much of Anglo-Saxon progress and Anglo-Saxon civilization, Anglo-Saxon ideas and Anglo-Saxon freedom, we fail to see in the term anything more than one of those popular prejudices which have little or no foundation in fact. The Anglo-Saxons before the introduction of Christianity had not those advanced notions of personal freedom which distinguished the Normans and the Celtic families in Ireland, Gaul, and Germany. "It was a maxim of Anglo-Saxon legislation that every man should have a superior

(1) Lingard, vol. ii. p. 41, O'Shea, 1860.

responsible for his conduct" (Lingard, vol. i., p. 324). The pagan Saxons encouraged and propagated slavery. "From the authentic record of Domesday it appears that as late as the eleventh century a great part of the populations of England remained in a state of slavery" (Lingard, vol. i., p. 73). The Catholic missionaries gradually taught the Saxons to love liberty, and, as we shall afterwards see, the Roman Pontiffs, especially Alexander III., abolished slavery in Europe as far as it was possible to do, considering the men, and times, and the undeveloped condition of civilization. We know that in this 9th century Gregory XVI. crowned the work of his predecessors by his bull against the slave-trade. The Popes were the most sensible as well as the most powerful "abolitionists." Papal authority elevated the degraded and slavish Saxon race, and gave to its laws and institutions the spirit of liberty. A Roman bishop taught the original Britons how to fight for freedom and win it. Germanus of Auxerre was sent by Pope Celestine, in the fifth century, to Britain, to settle a dispute in regard to the Pelagian heresy. He not only condemned and defeated it, but led the Britons against the invading Picts and

Saxons. The British army rushed to the combat with loud cries of "Hallelujah!" routed the invaders, and gave to English history what the Venerable Bede and others call the "Hallelujah victory." The Roman missionaries improved and modified the whole Saxon jurisprudence. Ethelbert, the third Anglo-Saxon Bretwalda, or chief sovereign, St. Augustine's convert and pupil, published the first Saxon code of laws, which has been ever since the basis of English jurisprudence. Its equitable spirit and just discrimination are due to Roman missionaries, who imparted to their royal convert a knowledge of the principles of equity and justice which characterize the Catholic canon law. The laws of the good King Edward, for which the people, under the half-pagan Norman oppression, so frequently clamored, were only the perfection of Ethelbert's laws by another faithful son of the Church, who loved his people too much to oppress them. The "Papist" King Edward abolished the "Danegelt." The Catholic Saxon kings were far more obedient to the Roman Pontiffs than their Norman successors. We find Caeadwalla, King of the West Saxons, going all the way to Rome in the year 688 to be baptized by Pope Sergius.

It was a common custom of the Saxon princes and prelates to visit the city of Rome. Pope Leo IV. confirmed and gave the regal unction to Alfred in Rome about the year 855, when that prince, afterwards to become so celebrated, was only in his fifth year. The same Alfred, accompanied by his father, King Ethelwulf, went on a second pilgrimage to the Eternal City, A. D. 855, and obtained from the Pope an ordinance that no Englishman should be condemned to do penance in irons out of his own country. (1) Anglo-Saxons then, at least, considered the Popes as the protectors of popular liberty. There was no talk then of "slavish Popery."

Such was the confidence of the first Christian Anglo-Saxons in the equity of the Popes,

(1) For the enormous crimes such as parricide, the bishops were accustomed to impose the canonical penance of wearing irons for a certain number of years, and sometimes to send the penitents for absolution to the Pope. One of these criminals is thus described, Act. Bened., sec. iv., tom. i., p. 72 :

Occidit proprium crudeli morte parentem
Unde reo statim præcepit episcopus urbis
Ferreus ut ventrem constringeret acriter omnem,
Circulus et similem paterentur brachia poenam,

Continuosque novem semet cruciando per annos.
Atria sacrorum lustraret sæpe locorum
Viseret et sacra *pulcherrima limina Petri*,
Quo veniam tantæ mereretur sumere culpæ.

that they often deferred to them the settlement of disputes. Thus, in the year 806 we find the insurgents against King Eardulf willing to commit their cause to the decision of Pope Leo III. (Lingard, vol. i., p. 112). In the year 796 Pope Leo III. excommunicated King Eadbert ; yet the Kentish people, always fond of liberty, so far from resenting this interference, were pleased with it. It speaks well for the influence of the Saxon Catholic bishops among the people of Kent, that they firmly believed (and it passed for authentic tradition among them long after the Norman invasion) that Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelnoth, Abbot of St. Augustine's, at the head of a Kentish army, demanded and obtained from William I. the confirmation of their ancient laws and liberties (Lingard, vol. ii., p. 4). This tradition shows that the people considered the Pope's agents as their best champions against royal aggression. No wonder, therefore, that the Saxon people loved the Popes and the Church, and gave to her ministers such large donations of land and money. Thus, about the year 642, Cynegils, King of Wessex, grateful for the gift of faith, and Oswald, the Bretwalda of England, donated the whole

city of Dorchester to Birinus, a bishop sent by Pope Honorius to preach the Gospel in England. Oswio, the Bretwalda A. D. 655, endowing monasteries at Bernicia, Deira, and Gilling, is but one instance out of hundreds in the history of Anglo-Saxon Catholic generosity in the pre-Norman times. Indeed, there never was a people more devoted to the Popes than the original Anglo-Saxon race. Even the oldest treaty now on record made by an English king with a foreign power was arranged by Pope John XV., A. D. 1002, and drawn up in his name (Lingard. vol. i., p. 241). If it be true that all our "Anglo-Saxon liberties" trace their origin to the laws of Ethelbert and of the good King Edward — that is, to times in which the whole of England was intensely Catholic and Papal; and since it is true in history that the Pope's missionaries and the Catholic bishops were the chief councillors in making those laws, does it not follow that the Popes, so far as Anglo-Saxon liberty is concerned, were not only its defenders but to a great extent its authors?

It is hardly necessary to speak of the Norman times to show that then, too, the Popes protected the people. The bishops Anselm

and à Becket, who fought the kings, were fighting the battle of the people. We have the authority of one who was no friend of the bishops, Voltaire, for asserting that Alexander III. was the champion of liberty in excommunicating Henry II. for the murder of à Becket. It was necessary that some one should oppose the half-savage royal Normans and their ferocious barons. History shows that the clergy were most frequently the only persons who had the courage to do so ; certainly, their opposition was always the most effectual.

Let us now pass to the general Papal influence in Europe. The weapons of the Popes in their struggle with the royal power were excommunication, deposition, and especially the interdict.

The popular heart naturally turned against a king who violated the laws of God in the "ages of faith." The spiritual censure of excommunication pronounced against a king weakened the people's respect for him and his office, and consequently increased the natural self-assertion of the down-trodden masses. The very fact of deposing a king weakened the regal authority, and thus benefitted the people, who felt its oppressive

weight, in ages when constitutional monarchies, newspapers, and Protestantism were unknown. But the interdict, especially, fanned the flame of liberty in the breasts of the people. The very origin of this ecclesiastical penalty was in the interest which Popes and bishops took in the oppressed multitudes. We find traces of it as early as A. D. 500. Its nature became fully developed in the turbulent times that followed the death of Charlemagne. Thus, after that event, in a synod at Limoges, the Abbot Odolric, witnessing the oppression of the serfs by the barons, gave the following advice : " Till the nobles cease from their ravages, do you forbid the celebration of mass, the solemnities of marriage, and the burial of the dead. Let the churches be stript of their ornaments and the faithful observe the abstinence of Lent. " (1) The people, who in those days were profoundly attached to their religion, in consequence of the interdict, detested their oppressors, in many cases rose against them, and frightened them into moderation and respect for liberty, law, and order.

When Ingelburga, the sister of the King of Denmark, was unjustly divorced by the proud

(1) Gregory of Tours, Hist. ch. viii. 31.

Philip Augustus of France, and when not one of his courtiers would lift a voice in her favor, the oppressed woman, ignorant even of the language of her judges and accusers, evaded a defender by crying out the magic word "*Roma.*" Innocent III. laid the kingdom under an interdict. The people murmured; the king had to yield; and liberty, morality, law and the weak woman triumphed. It was the triumph of the weak against the strong; of the people over a despot. The Pope was the people's champion. This great Pope, who was continually called upon to use his influence for the repression of the vices and despotism of European sovereigns, lays down the reason of his action in a letter quoted by our most impartial English historian (Lingard, vol. iii., p. 12, O'Shea's edition): "It is not that we found our jurisdiction on any civil authority. God has made it our duty to reprehend the man who falls into mortal sin, and if he neglect our reprehension, to compel him to amend by ecclesiastical censures." He thus merely claims what every clergyman must claim to a certain extent: the right to reprove and condemn the vicious, no matter how high or mighty they may be. But only in a Church not made by men, whose ministers

do not depend for their authority on kings or princes, can this apostolic courage be properly displayed in the interest of the poor and the weak. How the Protestant Churches have cowered before kings ! Read their history and learn !

The people in the Middle Ages knew that the Popes were their defenders. On whose side were the people when Gregory VII. deposed the licentious tyrant, Henry IV. of Germany ? Although it is not authentic that he put his foot on the neck of that emperor at Canossa, saying the words of the Psalmist, " Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, " (1) had he done so it would have been well. He would have been the legitimate exponent of the popular voice. Better for a tyrant and for the people too, to have a Pope's heel on his neck, than a Communist's knife at his throat. On whose side were the " serfs and villeins, " the masses of the people of Europe, when Alexander III., uniting all the forces of Italy in defence of liberty and justice, like a shut fist, smote and crushed the German Colossus, Frederick Barbarossa ? Voltaire, a great enemy of the Papacy

(1) « Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk ; and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon. » — *Psalm xc. 13.*

and all that it represents, is obliged to say of this Pontiff: "The man who, in the Middle Ages, deserved perhaps the highest tribute from the human race, was Pope Alexander III. He it was who, in a council held in the twelfth century, abolished as far as lay in his power the curse of slavery. It was he again who, in Venice, triumphed by his prudence over the violence of the Emperor Barbarossa and compelled Henry II., King of England, to ask pardon of God and of men for the murder of Thomas à Becket. He restored the rights of nations and curbed the passions of kings. Before his time, all Europe, save a small number of cities, was divided into two classes of men: the lords of the land, ecclesiastic and lay, and the *slaves*. The men of law, who assisted the knights in their judgments, and the bailiffs, were but mere serfs by origin. If men have recovered their rights, it is chiefly to Pope Alexander that they are indebted for it; to him so many cities owe their new or recovered splendor" (*apud* Darras, vol. iii., p. 270). This is the forced testimony of another Balaam. On whose side were the people when Boniface VIII. quarrelled with Philip the Fair, accusing him in the bull *Ausculda fili*, among

other things, " of admitting no judgment but his own, either within or without his kingdom, on the unjust and violent acts committed in his name ; of his abasement of the currency ; and of *loading his subjects with intolerable burdens* " ? How history repeats itself in the condition of the mass of the people in Germany and Italy at the present time ! The co-despots, the robber-barons, were on the side of Philip then, just as the German and Italian office-holders are now on the side of the Emperor and the King ; but on whose side should be the overtaxed people ? (1) Where was the Parliament, or the press, or the Protestant clergy to defend the people from Philip the Fair's oppression ? On whose

(1) If the affections of the people have been at times alienated from the Church, it is owing in a great measure to the interference of the civil government in the appointment of unworthy bishops or priests. History attests on every page that wherever the Papacy, unhampered by concordats or any state laws, has been absolutely free and has had direct control of episcopal appointments, the Church has been pure, and the people have clung to the old faith. Heresy and infidelity are mainly the results of a bad clergy ; and a bad clergy is chiefly the result of lay interference in trammelling Papal authority. The « pseudo-reformation » would never have succeeded in Scotland, England, or Germany if kings and barons had not for centuries circumscribed the Pope's power, and thus corrupted the episcopacy and the monks ; infidelity would never have made such inroads in Spain, France, Italy, and South America if so-called Catholic civil governments had not by corrupting many of the clergy, in spite of Papal protest, destroyed the faith of the laity. Examples in proof of this will swarm up before the mind of every student of Church history.

side were the people of England when Innocent III., in spite of the despotic King John, made Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, Archbishop of Canterbury—the man who afterwards led the “army of God and of his holy Church,” as they called themselves, which fought for and won the great charter “English liberties at Runnymede ? Let our American Protestant fellow-citizens remember that they owe to an English Cardinal the very liberties of Magna Charta.

On whose side were the people, and on whose side should particularly American sympathy be found, in all the long contests between the Popes and the emperors and kings in ancient and modern times ? The American people dislike kings and emperors. Now, for more than three centuries the Popes, representing the Christian minority in the pagan empire, fought against the despotism of Roman emperors. More than thirty of these Pontiffs, most of them drawn from the poorest of the people, fell in the combat ; but from their martyr-blood sprang up and bloomed Christian civilization and civil liberty. At a time when the peasant would have been spurned from the gate of the feudal castle with contumely ; at a time

when he had no rights which king or baron felt bound to respect ; at a time when even the squire's page would have turned up his nose at the Gurths, (1) and not allow one of them to come betwixt the wind and his nobility, the Catholic Church opened her arms to the despised class, made their person sacred, gave them rank and power greater than any baron. Yes, she took a swineherd and made him the moral judge, guide, and ruler of all the emperors and kings of Europe. (2) This was the elevation of the people ; this was the apotheosis of their rights.

Who then can refuse, in the face of these facts, to admit that the Popes have ever been the defenders of popular liberty ? Is it not, therefore, a disgrace for any lover of popular liberty, any professed republican, to put himself on the side of the first Roman emperors, or the mediæval emperors and kings ; to stand in more recent times with Louis XIV., Henry VIII, the Napoleons, German Kaisers, and Victor Emanuel's office-holders, in their oppression of the people, ground down by

(1) « *Ivanhoe*, » p. 22 (Parker's edition) : « Gurth the son of Beowulph is the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood. »

(2) Sixtus V. — i. e., Felix Peretti, A. D. 1585.

conscription laws and heavy taxation ; to champion these oppressors of the poor, rather than be found with the Popes, whose voice has ever been raised and power ever used to protect the people ; whose consecrated hand has ever been lifted to shield them from oppression, and whom the impartial student must place in the same category as our own Washington. Let us hope that the " asses of Saul " will soon realize that their packs are too heavy, and that the cause of liberty is on the side of the Pope, and not on that of emperors or kings ; and, having once realized it :

" Fervent energy must spread,
Till despotism's towers be overthrown,
And in their stead
Liberty stands alone ! " (1)

" A free Church, a free Pope, and a free People " — this should be the war-cry of every persecuted nationality. Be ever sure that when the Pope is free, the people will have an adequate protector of their liberty.

(1) Henry Ware, jr.

HENRY GEORGE AND HIS LAND THEORIES

THE fifth article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the first article of the Constitution of the State of New York, distinctly say: "Nor shall private property be taken for public use without compensation." Every one knows, from illustrations every day occurring, that by "private property" the constitutions mean private property in land as well as in houses. It is necessary to make this observation, for recent writers and speakers have argued that because the term land is not mentioned in the articles quoted, as well as in some of the works of standard authors defending the rights of property, they cannot be interpreted to include land. The Constitution of the State of New York, in the seventh section of the first article, prescribes even the manner in which the State must proceed in order legally to acquire title to land owned by a private citizen but deemed necessary for public use.

One would naturally suppose, then, that in a great country like ours, where good land is so cheap that it may be had almost for nothing, and so abundant that there is enough to give every adult American one hundred and sixty acres ; in a country in which there are no feudal privileges, no laws of entail or of primogeniture, and in which we have tried to make all men equal, so far as equality is possible, by universal suffrage, an attempt at agrarian revolution would fail to get any decent support. In the congested cities of Europe, in the nations of class-privilege and limited suffrage, in municipalities where even honest and industrious labor often fails to find either employment or fair wages, we can understand the discontent of the peasants and laboring classes. But that Americans, natives of the soil, should preach a crusade against our republican rights of property, is matter for serious reflection.

The theory of Mr. George is essentially anti-American. It is contrary to the letter and the spirit of all our institutions. We have grown to be a great people by individual enterprise and extension. It needs no proof that Individualism and not Socialism or Communism, decentralization and not cen-

tralization, are at the bottom of our political and material growth and prosperity.

We have called it the theory of Mr. George, but it is really not his except by adoption. He has merely naturalized it. He has taken it from Herbert Spencer, the English philosopher, although in other forms it is as old as the first heresies. We need not delay in making extracts from the writings of Mr. Spencer to show that Mr George has only copied the Englishman's views and given them a new dress in *The Land Question* and *Progress and Poverty*. Mr. George admits this himself in the former of these two works. (1) We do not know but that Mr. George has borrowed also from a Canadian writer, a certain William Brown, who in 1881 published at Montreal *The Land Catechism: Is Rent Just?* In this work the same ideas and the same arguments are found as in *Progress and Poverty*; and as both books appeared about the same time, it is hard to say whether Brown borrowed from George, or George from Brown, or both from Spencer. The theory of land-nationalization, of the destruction of private property in land, and of making the state the only landlord, never grew naturally out of

(1) *The Land Question*, p. 44. New York : Lovell.

American soil. We incline to think, therefore, that the germ of it was wafted either by an eastern gale from England or a blizzard from Canada, till it unfortunately found a resting place in the enterprising brain of Mr. George. (1)

The syllogism — and Mr. George is fond of syllogisms— which underlies the whole of his book on *Progress and Poverty* is the following : “ The cause of poverty should be abolished ; but the cause of poverty is private property in land ; therefore private property in land should be abolished. ” We shall say nothing to the major of this syllogism, except that the reformer who undertakes to abolish the cause of poverty has a very hard task before him. So many are poor from their own fault, so many remain poor even when helped, and so many will remain poor in spite of every assistance given, that it is impossible to abolish the evil. A greater than Mr. George has said : “ The poor you have always with you ” ; and history shows that poverty has always

(1) It would be more correct to say that Fichte, the German pantheist, is the modern father of George's theory. In his work, *Materials for the Justification of the French Revolution*, Fichte defines property as George does.

existed. We fear Mr. George will never abolish poverty until he succeeds in abolishing the freedom of the human will and preventing men from squandering their earnings upon their passions. Can it be that Mr. George sincerely believes that, after centuries of unsuccessful effort on the part of creeds and civilizations to abolish poverty, he alone has found the solution of the problem by an English patent with an American stamp on its back?

But we dismiss the major premise. The minor is the back-bone of Mr. George's syllogism. Let us not be accused of misrepresenting him. Here are his words: "If private property in land be just, then is the remedy I propose a false one; if, on the contrary, private property in land be unjust, then is the remedy the true one." These are his words in the seventh book of *Progress and Poverty*, in a chapter of which the heading is: "The Injustice of Private Property in Land." Again in the same chapter, after a lengthy attempt to prove his thesis, he writes:

"Whatever may be said for the institution of private property in land, it is therefore plain that it cannot be defended on the score of justice. " . . . "There is on earth no power which can rightfully make a

grant of exclusive ownership in land. " " Though the sovereign people of the State of New York consent to the landed possessions of the Astors, the puniest infant that comes wailing into the world in the squalidest room of the most miserable tenement-house becomes at that moment seized of an equal right with the millionaires ; and it is robbed if the right is denied. " ... " The wide-spreading social evils which everywhere oppress men amid an advancing civilization spring from a great primary wrong — the appropriation, as the exclusive property of some men, of the land on which and from which *all* must live. From this fundamental injustice flow *all* the injustices which distort and endanger modern development, which condemn the producer of wealth to poverty and pamper the non-producer in luxury, which rear the tenement-house with the palace, plant the brothel behind the church, and compel us to build prisons as we open new schools. "

No one would believe it, unless he had read it, that Mr. George thus holds that not only is private property in land robbery, but even the cause of other crimes—the creator of the brothel and the jail ! And yet the criminal owner of a farm and the thieving lot-owner hold on to their dishonest possessions, and will not yield them voluntarily to the state. And the industrious and sober but wicked mechanic and laborer continue to economize in whiskey and tobacco in order to be able

to commit the crime of owning their own lots, and thus helping to send some one into a brothel or a jail ! Thus we have Mr. George's doctrine in his own words. Before analyzing his arguments in its favor let us free the question from wordy ambiguity.

There was a sect in the very early ages of Christianity called the " Apostolicals. " of whom St. Augustine writes in his work on Heresies, heresy No. 40. They held a doctrine very much like that of Mr. George, and denied the right of any man to own property. Prudhomme, the French Communist, adopted their principles when he said that " property is theft." Mr. George does not say that all property is theft ; the only dishonest possession, according to him, is that of " private property in land."

Now, men may differ about the *origin* of titles to hold land. Some trace them to the law of nature, others to the law of nations, and others to the law of the state. But although orthodox writers may differ as to the *origin* of titles to private ownership, all admit the right itself ; and whether the title comes from the law of the state or from the law of nations, in the last analysis it is sanctioned by the law of nature, for neither the

state nor the law of nations could make that which is intrinsically unjust, just. We have been unable to find any orthodox writer on law or theology who denies the justice of private ownership of land. But Mr. George, from his words quoted above, denies that even the state can give valid title: "There is on earth no power which can rightfully make a grant of exclusive ownership in land." Thus, then, even the grants of land made by the state to soldiers after a just war, are all invalid. If the United States government had conceded to General Grant a farm in recompense for his services in saving the Union, the act would be invalid and the title void, according to Mr. George's theory.

Sane writers also teach that while private property in land is just, so also is ownership by a corporation or by the state. The state is an owner, and so may be the individual or the corporation. But the right of the individual primordially and aboriginally precedes the right of the state. Adam was the first owner of property; he had logical and real rights as an individual, even before he became the "covenanted head" of the race. For some time he was alone in the world. When Eve was formed to be his wife

she and Adam were the only property-owners on this earth. After they had children, and these children begot others, quarrels about persons and property arose, and then the families united and made the state to be, as it were, a policeman to keep order and protect rights. The state, then, in the form of its organization, is the creature of the family. Its rights are therefore limited by the rights of families or of the individuals who compose them. It is true that the authority of the state is from God, and that the state has the right of eminent domain, in virtue of which it can abridge or take away class-privileges, or curtail private ownership for the benefit of the whole community. How far this right of eminent domain to be used only in case of necessity, may extend, we are not going to discuss. It fluctuates, like the mercury in a barometer, in different political systems. The opinion of Americans as to the extent of eminent domain is expressed by the article of the Constitution already quoted and by other laws. But the right of a corporation to own property — the right of the municipality of New York, for instance, to own the Central Park, and the right of the state to own certain territory — in no way

collides with the right of the individual to own his lot or his farm. If Mr. George had simply taught that if we wish to perfect we should "sell all we possess and give to the poor"; if he had simply argued in favor of the superior advantages of a common to a private ownership, no one would accuse him of holding unsound opinions. As far as sane economists are concerned, they would denounce as strongly the teaching that would deny the right of a state or of a community to hold land, or the writer who would insist that private ownership is the only one that is valid, as they do now the theory that private ownership is unjust. Communism in its best form has always flourished in the Catholic Church alongside of private ownership. Mr. George will labor long before he can establish such perfect forms of the holding of property in common as have existed, and still exist, in the monastic institutions of Christianity.

The right of private property is limited by the state's eminent domain, by the necessities of other men, as well as by the universal law of charity, that makes all things common in case of extreme necessity. Common sense and reason limit the extent of private

ownership, even when acquired by priority of occupation. We are not going to discuss the limits of ownership, because the question is not pertinent to the subject. The justice of private ownership is one thing, the limits of it another, and while the former is certain the latter is disputable.

If Mr. George's purpose were merely to improve the condition of the laboring classes by obtaining for them better wages or shorter hours where needed, or to limit the power of corporations or curtail the influence of monopolies, no Catholic theologian would have spilled a drop of ink in trying to injure his cause. But he says that private property in land is the cause of poverty and is unjust.

We freely admit that poverty might, indeed, be a consequence of *land-monopoly* used contrary to the laws of justice and charity ; but private ownership itself is naturally a means to wealth. If we were to argue from history it might be shown that common ownership has produced as much poverty as private ownership. The wretched and impoverished condition of the ancient Gauls and Germans, as described by Cæsar (1) and Tacitus, (2) is inferentially attributed by those writers to the

(1) *De Bello Gallico*, vi. ch. 22.

(2) *Germania*, ch. 26.

holding of land in common. Tenure in common killed individual exertion and destroyed the progress to which private ownership stimulates. When everybody owned the acre, every one shirked the labor of improvement and threw the responsibility on his neighbor's shoulders.

Nor does the history of the people of God favor Mr. George's theory. We are willing to give him all the advantage he thinks he finds in the texts of the Bible that " God hath given the earth to the sons of men, " and that " the Lord's is the earth and the fulness thereof, " and " you shall not sell the land for ever, for the land is mine, saith the Lord. " If he is going to quote Scripture for us in defence of his proposition that " private property in land is unjust, " he ought to state at the same time that his interpretation of these texts is contrary to all Christian and Hebrew teaching, for both recognize the justice of private ownership in land. All our Hebrews, even the most orthodox rabbis, like to own town lots, and if they own them they keep them, or sell them, or transmit them to their heirs with calm consciences in spite of the text, " You shall not sell the land for ever. " Surely the whole Christian Church

and the whole Synagogue are as good interpreters of the Bible as Mr. George. The Lord is the absolute owner of the earth. Who denies it? God is the absolute owner of every human being as well as of the earth, and yet Mr. George derives the right of a man to property from "the right of a man to himself, to the use of his own powers." (1) He surely does not mean by this, however, that a man has an absolute right to himself—the right to commit suicide, for instance? The absolute dominion of God over the earth is not contradictory to private ownership of land by a human being, any more than the state's right of eminent domain is irreconcilable with the citizen's right to his lot or to his farm. As to God, we are all tenants at will, not only as to ownership of property but also as to ownership of our lives. When we claim the justice of private ownership in land, we do not mean that the owner can keep it in spite of God's will, but that he can sell it, transmit it to his heirs, and exclude other men from its possession. God, of course, has given the earth to the sons of men, but he has not specified the manner in which they must own it. Some of them own it in common, others

(1) *Progress and Poverty*, p. 300. Appleton. 1882.

individually, but in both cases with a just and valid title. The law of nature is equally indifferent to communal or to private ownership. (1) Where does Mr. George find a text that forbids private property in land, and prescribes that the community can be the sole honest owner ?

Jewish legislation on this subject was special and national, and was never intended to be universal. When the Israelites conquered the promised land—a land specially donated to them by the Supreme Owner, God—Josue divided the whole country into twelve provinces, giving one to each tribe. No tribe could encroach on the land of another. Then each family got a share by a subdivision, and the families were forbidden to alienate for ever the portion of land assigned to them. What was this but a law of entail, to which Mr. George is opposed? The Jews by a special

(1) This is what St. Thomas means when he says : « If you consider this field absolutely, there is no reason in it why it should belong to one man rather than to another ; but if you consider it in relation to the need of cultivation and of pacific use of the field, in this regard it is opportune that it should belong to one and not to another » (2^a, 2^e, quest. 57, art. iii). As it is not easy in an English translation to give all the shades of meaning of the Angelic Doctor, we quote the original text : « Si enim consideretur iste ager absolute, non habet unde magis sit hujus quam illius ; sed si consideretur per respectum ad opportunitatem colendi, et ad pacificum usum agri, secundum hoc habet quamdam commensurationem ad hoc quod sit unius et non alterius. »

law were obliged to celebrate the Jubilee year, which was every fiftieth. This Jubilee year was one of privileges ; in it slaves were set free, and property sold within the last fifty years reverted to the original possessor but not to the whole community. The right to sell land was permitted to the Jews, and they could give title only for fifty years. Such sale did not injure the possessor, because he knew in disposing of it that he could sell or buy only for a fixed period.

This special Hebrew land legislation was in order to keep the tribes separate ; for the priestly and levitical functions belonged exclusively to the tribe of Levi, and the Messias was to come from the tribe of Juda. After the captivity of Babylon this land-law ceased to bind, because as only the tribes of Juda and Benjamin, with a few representatives from the other tribes, came back, its reason of existence ceased. The King of the Jews was God himself. Their form of government was a theocracy, special and isolated. To argue from Hebrew land-laws to those that should bind the rest of mankind is as absurd as to teach that the rules of a Catholic monastery or convent should govern the outside world. A man cannot justly buy what

the seller does not justly own. Now, Abraham bought a burying-ground *for ever* for four hundred sieles from Ephron, "and the field was made sure to Abraham, and the cave that was in it, for a possession to bury in" (Gen. xxiii. 20). By the Mosaic law lands always passed to the children, or, if there were none, to the next of kin, thus showing that private ownership was recognized (Numbers, xxvii). Even King Achab had not the power to take away Naboth's vineyard without his consent (III. Kings xxi. 2). According to Mr. George, as no individual's title to real estate is valid, neither can any man dispose of it by will; for the community, not the children or next of kin, is the true heir and owner.

The first Christians were of Hebrew race. They sold and bought lands. They were private owners. Do the champions of the George theory who quote Scripture forget that in Acts v. 3-4 St. Peter reproaches Ananias, the converted Jew, with his lie in these words: "Why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Ghost, and by fraud keep part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, did it not remain to thee? and after it was sold, was it not in thy

power? " When the champions of Mr. George say that Scripture favors his theory they are certainly following in the footsteps of Ananias.

But let us come to Mr. George's arguments from reason. Here is his bulwark :

" The laws of nature are the decrees of the Creator. There is written in them no recognition of any right save that of labor; and in them is written broadly and clearly the equal right of all men to the use and enjoyment of nature — to apply to her by their exertions and to receive and possess her reward. Hence, as nature gives only to labor, the exertion of labor in production is the only title to exclusive possession." (1)

This was Fichte's argument long before George used it.

Mr. George is fond of syllogisms, (2) so let us put his argument in the form of a syllogism. Is not this a fair one from his words :

(1) *Progress and Poverty*, p. 302

(2) This is the syllogism which our American Aristotle, Mr. George, pretended to take from the words of archbishop Corrigan's pastoral.

" The results of human exertion are property, and may rightfully be the object of individual ownership.

" Land is property.

" Therefore land is rightfully the object of individual ownership. " (See *Standard* of January 8, 1887.)

Now, as the pastoral does not say that the results of human exertion alone are property, but distinctly claims that the things themselves, " a farm, etc., " as well as the improvements on it, are property, how can Mr. George acquit himself of the charge of false statement?

“ The only title to exclusive possession is that which nature gives ” ; but nature gives such title “ only to labor ” ; therefore “ labor in *production* is the only title to exclusive possession ” ? Of course the reader sees at a glance that there is more in the conclusion of this syllogism than in the premises. That more was put there by Mr. George, not by us. But let it stand. Now for an analysis of it. The major of this syllogism may be admitted ; but the minor is false, for, in the first place, it denies the validity of title derived from priority of occupation. Of this title Mr. George says that it is “ the most absurd ground on which land-ownership can be defended.” (1) Mr. George, as proofs of this dogmatic assertion, says :

“ Has the first comer at a banquet the right to turn back all the chairs and claim that none of the other guests shall partake of the food provided, except as they make terms with him ? ” “ Does the first passenger who enters a railroad-car obtain the right to scatter his baggage over all the seats and compel the passengers who come in after him to stand up ? ” (2)

This idea is found in St. Basil's sermon on Naboth's vineyard. This is an unlucky illustration for Mr. George. It proves against his

(1) *Progress and Poverty*, p. 309.

(2) *Idem*.

theory instead of for it. Undoubtedly the man who takes a seat at a banquet or in a railroad-train cannot exclude others from the other seats which they purchased for hard cash, but he can exclude others from the seat which he occupies, because it is his. If Mr. George should take the seat appointed for him at a banquet, or if places have not been appointed but left to be taken on the principle that "the first come should be the first served," and he should take one, would he not consider it injustice for some one to come in and order him out of his chair? When he enters a railroad-car he takes an unoccupied seat, he claims a right to that particular seat by virtue of prior occupation, and he would consider himself unjustly treated if some one else should come in and try to oust him. And if all the seats are preoccupied he has to stand up.

The very fact that the prior occupation of the seat is felt to give title to its possessor, and that the community respects such prior occupation, shows that the title of prior occupation is founded in nature. We do not claim that prior occupation gives title to the whole earth, but it does give title to that part of it in which a man fixes his residence, or which provides for his necessary support; and from

that part he can exclude others, as the pre-occupant could from the chair at a public restaurant or the seat in a railroad-car. The universal consent of mankind, gives title to priority of occupation. If two boys should go to a blackthorn hedge—we use this illustration, for Mr. George is very fond of the Irish, especially at election time—to cut sticks, the one who outruns the other, and takes hold of the best cane for his purpose, feels that he has a right to it in virtue of prior occupation ; and the other boy respects the right ; or if, on account of greater strength and evil inclination, he should undertake to get possession of it, both feel that right is being violated. Nature tells the aggressor that he is violating the right acquired by prior occupation ; and the aggrieved feels that he does no wrong by defending his right to it, even by force. If a party of men should sail away on the ocean and discover land without an owner, like Pitcairn Island when the mutineers of the *Bounty* found it, they would feel that they had a right. They would divide it, and respect each other's rights to it after the division. (1) If

(1) Mr. George draws the following false conclusion from title derived from priority of occupation : « Then by priority of occupation one could acquire and could transmit to whom he pleased not merely the exclusive right to one hundred and sixty acres or to six hundred and forty acres,

Mr. George should find gold-dust in the dried-up bed of a stream which belonged to no one, would he not appropriate it to himself and claim it by the right of prior occupation? He could not claim it as the result of labor, for he accidentally found it. All the labor consisted in picking it up. Peace and good order require that the right of the prior occupant should, with proper restrictions, be recognized. If not, every one would be fighting for the best place. And order is the first law of nature as well as of heaven. Order and peace, therefore, legitimate title acquired by priority of occupation.

but to a whole township, a whole state, a whole continent » (*Progress and Poverty*, p. 310). How much land an individual may occupy and own is a debatable question, but there is no dispute among orthodox writers that he can own some part of the earth. Limitation of a right does not mean its destruction. Common sense and the necessities of our fellow men limit occupation. No one claims that a man may occupy a whole continent; but every one should admit that he may justly own a portion of it. How much? That depends. Grant to the individual the ownership of a single lot on the continent, and you give up Mr. George's theory that « private property in land is unjust. » Just as the individual may acquire title by prior occupation, so may the state by prior occupation. Thus if the agent of a state, seeking new discoveries for her, should find an island not owned by others, he claims it as the property of his government, and no individual can acquire right or title in it without the consent of the state; for the right of the state is as sacred as the right of the individual. The same argument holds good for both the individual and the state. But in all cases the source of authority is in God. As St. Paul says, « All power is from God. »

Here is another syllogism taken from Mr. George's reasoning: "The recognition of private property in land is a wrong, if there can be no exclusive possession and enjoyment of anything not the product of labor; but there can be no exclusive possession and enjoyment of anything not the product of labor; therefore the recognition of private property in land is wrong." This is but the former syllogism in a new dress. We answer it in these calm and dignified words of the highest ecclesiastical judicial authority in the State of New York: The right of property is

"the moral faculty of claiming an object as one's own, and of disposing both of the object and its utility according to one's own good will, without any rightful interference on the part of others... Undoubtedly God made the earth for the use of all mankind; but whether the possession thereof was to be in common or by individual ownership was left for reason to determine. Such determination, judging from the facts of history, the sanction of law, from the teaching of the wisest and the actions of the best and bravest of mankind, has been and is that man can by lawful acts become possessed of the right of ownership in property and not merely in its use. The reason is because a man is strictly entitled to that of which he is the producing cause, to the improvement he brings about in it, and the enjoyment of both. But it is clear that in a farm, for instance, which one has by patient toil improved

in value ; in a block of marble out of which one has chiselled a perfect statue, he cannot fully enjoy the improvement he has caused unless he have also the right to own the object thus improved. "

Mr. George tries to depreciate the importance of this official utterance by insinuating that it has no more weight than the utterance of a " butler " or a " butcher-boy. " (1) Mr. George is not a Catholic. We do not know that he is even a believer in the divinity of Christ. But by his own testimony he has been paying court to cardinals and bishops, and enjoying their hospitality. Why not respect one of their body ? No Catholic can sympathize with Mr. George's attack upon a bishop who forbore to speak till the election for mayor was over, and then only discharged an official duty in defending the truth. Mr. George's abuse or insult does not disprove the logic of these words :

" But it is clear that in a farm, for instance, which one has by patient toil improved in value ; in a block of marble out of which one has chiselled a perfect statue, he cannot fully enjoy the improvement he has caused unless he have also the right to own the object thus improved. "

Moreover, if we accept Mr. George's pro-

(1) See the *Standard* — Mr. George's organ — of January 8, 1887.

position that there can be no property except what is the "fruit of human industry" or the "product of human exertion," mark the consequences that follow. How can we get title to property in cattle in that case? Man never produced horses, cows, nor asses; will he on that account be denied the right to own them? How can a man become the owner of chickens or ducks, since he cannot produce them or the eggs from which they are hatched? How can he become an owner of eggs since he cannot "produce them?"

But even accepting the theory that labor put in concrete form on material things gives the only title to ownership, still private ownership in land is just. If I clear a field, fence it in, build a house on it, I have put my labor in a concrete form. A barren and useless spot that had belonged to nobody has been converted by my industry into a productive one. Now, if you deprive me of this field, am I not deprived of "the product of human exertion"?

You tell me I did not produce the field. But neither has the workman produced the raw material out of which he has made the tool. The iron or the tree is as much a gift of nature as land. The clay that is used to make

bricks is a part of the soil. Land requires improvement to be useful to man : it must be ploughed, harrowed, manured, just as the iron must pass through the foundry or wood through the sawmill to be fit for use. Thus, then, the same argument that gives title to the maker of the tool gives title to the cultivator of the farm. In both cases the improvement carries with it the right to the thing improved. They are inseparable in the concrete.

Again, if land cannot justly belong to a private owner, neither can it be owned by a corporation or by a state. You say that land is common property and belongs to the whole human race ; that every child born into the world has a right to live on the land. Then what right has a state to put up a barrier, and mark out a frontier, and claim exclusive ownership of a fixed portion of the earth ? If every tramp, as you say, has a right to the Astors' city lots, then the Manitoba peasant or Sitting Bull's Indians have as much right to the City Hall Park as the municipality of New York, and it is injustice to exclude them from its ownership. The Rhine, according to the George theory, is unjustly a limit to French or German nation-

ality and ownership ; and if the inhabitants of Africa should find their land unable to support them, they have a right to immigrate hither in a body and take as much of American soil as they may need for their support, without asking permission from the courtesy or the charity of the state or of the American people. In fact, it would be injustice to oppose them, for what right have we to exclude them from " the common gift of the Creator " ? Thus every argument against the private ownership of the individual tells equally against ownership by corporations, municipalities, or states ; for the unorganized human race, according to this theory, owns all the land in common. If it is necessary to produce the earth in order to own it, one might say that Holland and our " Harlem Flats " are privileged property. They are the product of human exertion and " free dumps. " Every seller of a lot on " Harlem Flats " could put up a sign as an incentive to buyers : " This lot is guaranteed by Henry George, for it is the product of human exertion. " Happy inhabitants of " Harlem Flats " !

You grant a man the right to his house, but not to the lot on which it stands ; but the

foundation of the house is often built six or seven feet into the ground. Must we for the future build our houses on stilts, to keep the improvement separate from the thing improved? How can a man separate his property, the house, from the product of nature, the lot? Or must every man build a house of such a character as to be able to carry it off on his back? You concede that he may own the bricks with which he built it, but deny that he can own the portion of earth out of which they were made. How can he separate his property from that of the community in this case? He can sell the house but not the lot; yet in the very sale of the house he gives to the buyer the right to exclude others from the land on which it is built. Suppose the community should insist on its rights to use its property, the ground on which the house is erected, how could the community do it without invading the individual's right to the house? What absurdities!

In logic he that proves too much proves nothing. Every argument used by Mr. George against the right of private property in land tells equally against the right to hold all other kinds of property. Thus on page 306 of *Progress and Poverty* Mr. George writes :

"The recognition of individual ownership of land is the denial of the natural rights of other individuals — it is a wrong which must *show* itself in the inequitable division of wealth. For as labor cannot produce without the use of land, the denial of the equal right to the use of land is necessarily the denial of the right of labor to its own produce, " etc.

Now, every word of this applies with greater force to those kinds of property the justice of which is acknowledged. Substitute the words "raw material" and "machinery" for "land" in the whole paragraph, and you have the same argument, or rather the same tirade, against property. The unequal division of the raw material, the unequal division of the ownership of machinery, may as well be charged with being the cause of poverty as the unequal distribution of land. In fact, there is greater inequality, and therefore greater injustice if inequality be injustice, in wealth derived from manufactures, greater inequality in the ownership of stocks and bonds, than in the ownership of land. If Mr. George, when he becomes ruler of America, is going to rob the Astors of their real estate and give it to be the common property of tramps and loungers, the Astors had better sell their land at once, and invest the money in factories, stocks, bonds, or *books*, so as to own a kind of

property that Mr. George will recognize as just and entirely exempt from taxation. Let them invest in English consols or French rents, and escape paying anything to the support of our government.

Mr. George recognizes property in improvements but not to the land improved. But when the improvements become indistinguishable from the land, then "the title to the improvements becomes blended with the title to the land; the individual right is lost in the common right." (1) In such a case he would not even give compensation for all the individual's labor and industry. But is not this self-contradictory? On the one hand he lays down the universal principle that man has a right to the "product of his own industry." Yet when that product is identified with the land, so as to be indistinguishable from it, he denies the right either to the product or to compensation for it. Thus a man might till a farm for fifty years and enhance its value one hundred per cent; yet because the improvements on it were of such a character as to be inseparable and indistinguishable from it, the laborer could claim no compensation for his work! Are the farmers and

(1) *Progress and Poverty*, p. 308.

laborers going to accept any such nonsense as this ? Why should the impossibility of separating an improvement from the thing improved work forfeiture of the improvement or of compensation for years of patient toil and industry ? Can a man be the laborer's friend who tells him that all his sweat on his farm will go for naught, because the farm absorbs and appropriates it ? The individual, forsooth, must heroically sacrifice the reward of labor for the benefit of a dreamer's theory ! Is not this sanctioning the very thing which Irish peasants formerly considered one of their greatest grievances — namely, that they received no compensation for the improvement made on their farms, because the improvement was absorbed by the farm ? Again, while Mr. George denies the right to private ownership of land, he exaggerates the right of the individual to other kinds of property. He says " that which a man makes or produces is his own, as against all the world — to enjoy or to *destroy*, to use, to exchange, or to give." (1) Thus he gives to man the absolute dominion of the Creator over the work of his own hands, an unlimited and unrestricted right " to enjoy or to destroy " what he has

(1) *Progress and Poverty*, p. 300,

made. The baker, therefore, who burns up all the loaves of bread in his bakery ; the butcher who throws all the beefsteaks in his shop into the furnace ; the drunken laborer who takes his week's earnings and squanders them in the rum-shop, violates no right of others. He has a right to destroy his property, even though his neighbors or his wife and children should be starving. They have no right even to the crumbs that fall from his table. What right have they to the products of another's industry ? This absolute dominion over the products of human industry is denied by all sane writers. As in every product of human industry there is an element not the product of human industry — the raw material created by Him who created man himself — man has no right to destroy it when the rights of others or the necessities of others stand in the way. When man is about to destroy the work of his hands, say a loaf of bread, God cries to him : " Hold ! You formed the loaf, but I created the substances out of which it is formed, and you that have formed them I want them to be used for the benefit of other creatures like yourself. Your rights are certain but they are limited. The very instruments by which

you formed this loaf, those hands of yours, belong to me as their Creator." Nay, more, Mr. George's theory leads logically to child-murder. What is more of a man's production than his children ? He produces them by generation, and according to Henry George you can "enjoy" or "destroy" what you "produce." Here is the old despotism of pagan Roman fathers over the life and death of their children again revived.

THE SCHISM OF THE WEST

I

THE two most important questions arising out of this dangerous and disastrous schism are how it began and how it was legally ended.

We propose to answer these questions briefly :

The seeds of it were sown in the transfer of the papal residence from Rome to Avignon by Clement V., who before his election to the papacy (June 5, 1305) was known as Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, in France. Italy, and Rome particularly, was then in a disturbed state. Clement disliked scenes of turmoil, and besides, as a thorough Frenchman in character and prejudices, he dearly loved his native land and Philip, the Fair, its pleasant king. The new Pope was therefore crowned at Lyons, hesitated to go to Rome, and finally went to live at Avignon. His successors down to Gregory XI. followed his

example. Thus, for nearly seventy years, a period which the Italians called the " Babylonian Captivity, " the bishops of Rome governed the Church from what the Italians considered a foreign city. During this interval of exile, French influences prevailed in the Papal Court and in the general government of the Church, to the great displeasure and discontent of other nations. The Romans especially complained, but they continued to quarrel among themselves, and never tried to make their city a fit residence for their bishop, the successor of St. Peter. Italy was torn by factions. None of its princes was strong enough to enforce law. The suspicion and certainty of French influence weakened the authority of the papacy. Gregory XI., a learned and zealous pontiff, was deeply impressed with this when he saw the failure of his legate to settle the disputes between the kings of France and England ; the continued disobedience of the citizens of Florence to the laws of the Church ; the invasion of the patrimony of St. Peter by Barnabo, Vice-Count of Milan ; and the refusal of Joanna, the disreputable queen of Naples, and of Frederic, king of Sicily, to lay down their arms at the Pope's request. His autho-

rity was insulted everywhere in Italy. Then it was that St. Catharine of Sienna, who as ambassadress from the Florentines had visited Gregory at Avignon, added the weight of her influence to other motives which induced him to return to Rome, the proper place of residence for the bishop of the Romans and the successor of St. Peter. The Supreme Pontiff felt the weight of arguments, which his predecessors in Avignon had also felt, although they had not the courage to follow them out to their logical consequences. These arguments were the expression of the best public opinion of the time. The capital of the Church was Rome. The bishop of Rome should live in Rome, and not in a foreign city. In Rome St. Peter governed the Church and in Rome he died. His successor should govern from the same see. The scholarly Petrarch thus expressed the common sentiment, especially in Italy: "Rome is the ancient, the true, and the proper city of the Pope. It is useful and expedient for the whole Church that he should live there." Consequently, in the beginning of the year 1377, Gregory left Avignon and went to Rome, where he was received with great joy and pomp by the inhabitants. After awhile,

however, becoming disgusted with the seditions and scandals of the Romans, and being also urged by the French cardinals, who were in the majority in the Sacred College, he resolved to return to Avignon. But death prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He died at Rome, March 27, 1378, in the midst of factious contentions of Italians and French for the control of the papacy. It was after the election of his successor that the great schism broke out, which for forty years weakened the power of the papacy, fomented discord, unnerved ecclesiastical discipline, already much relaxed ; prevented the reform of abuses and the extirpation of scandals ; gave new excuses to the secular power for intrusion into ecclesiastical affairs ; created in religious matters a spirit of nationalism hostile to the spirit of Catholicity, and thus prepared the way for the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century.

Gregory foresaw the possibility of a schism after his death, for he knew the desire of the French cardinals to have the Pope return to Avignon, and he also knew the hatred of the Romans for the very name of Avignon. To safeguard, therefore, the freedom of the future conclave and to prevent the danger of

schism, a few weeks before his death, on March 19, 1378, he issued a decree forbidding the governor of the Castle of St. Angelo to deliver the keys of that fortress to any claimant of the papacy, save by order of the cardinals remaining at Avignon. He thus hoped to make those cardinals the guardians of a free election in Rome. He also abolished the rule requiring a two-thirds vote to elect, and decreed that a mere majority vote should be sufficient to make a valid choice. This was to protect the election at Rome from the delays and intrigues of the cardinals remaining away from the Eternal City, and to expedite the choice of his successor. He knew that each faction was willing to sacrifice the Church to its own selfish ambition.

Amid scenes of great tumult and violence the conclave assembled on April 8, A. D. 1378, ten days after the death of Gregory, and after a short session elected Bartholomew Prignano, a Neapolitan, and Archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI. Ten days after, on Easter Sunday, April 18th, he was crowned according to custom with solemn pomp. All the cardinals then in Rome took part in the ceremony. The cardinals at Avignon and in other places outside of Rome

recognized him as the legitimate pontiff, and no doubt was raised by any one about the validity of his election until three months after his coronation. Then the French faction began to say that they had been forced by a Roman mob to elect Urban.

This is what the Protestant historian Creighton says of this Pope : " The cardinals had elected Prignano as a respectable figure-head, who would prove amenable to their wishes. He had a reputation for theological and legal learning ; he was well versed in the business of the Curia ; he knew the charms of Avignon, and was likely to find a good excuse for returning there and carrying on the traditions of the Avignonese papacy. Great was their disappointment when they found that one whom they regarded as insignificant was resolved to make himself their master. Urban VI. had never been a cardinal, and so was untouched by the traditions of the order. " " Already on Easter Monday he began to inveigh against the conduct of the bishops, and said that they were perjured because they deserted their sees and followed the Curia. He tried to enforce sumptuary regulations upon the cardinals, and ordered that they should make their meal of one dish

only. He had no tact, no sense of dignity or decorum. He sat in the consistory and interrupted speakers with remarks of 'Rubbish,' 'Hold your tongue,' 'You have said enough,' His anger found vent in unmeasured language. One day he called Cardinal Orsini a fool; seeing the Cardinal of Limoges turn away his head and make a face at something that he said, he bade him hold up his head and look him in the face."

"These were personal matters, intensely galling to the cardinals, who under the last Popes" (at Avignon) "had been richly endowed with ecclesiastical revenues; had lived in luxury, accustomed to treat kings as their equals, and to meet with nothing but consideration and respect." (1) These, of course, are the words of a Protestant writer; but all historians admit that Urban used intemperate zeal in his efforts to reform the cardinals who had voted for him. It was this intemperate zeal which provoked some of them afterwards to forswear allegiance to him and nominate one of their number, Robert of Geneva, to the papacy at Fundi, Sept. 20, 1378. And thus, with two Popes claiming

(1) *History of the Papacy*, London, 1882.

the authority of Peter, the schism began and spread to the whole Church, puzzled to know which was legitimate.

•Creighton asks the questions : " Did the tumult of the Romans amount to actual violence sufficient to do away with the freedom of the electors ? If so, did not the subsequent recognition of Urban by the cardinals, a recognition which lasted for three months, supply any defect which might have been in the original election ? " His answer is worth recording : " It is clear that these questions might be settled according as prejudice or interest directed. There had been enough irregularity in the election to give the cardinals a fair plea for their proceedings ; but the formal plea was a mere cloak to political motives. The significance of Urban's election lay in the fact that it restored the papacy to Rome, and freed it from the influence of France. " (1) This is rather fairer treatment of the question than it receives from the Catholic partisans of Robert of Geneva, the so-called Clement VII.

The last distinguished champion of this claimant to the papacy is the Abbé Gayet. In

(1) *History of the Papacy*, p. 64.

a number of *The Catholic Quarterly Review* a criticism of the Abbé Gayet's work on the schism of the west marshals in bright array all the abbé's arguments to show that Urban was elected by force and duress, and, consequently, that he was not a legitimate Pope, but that Clement VII. was. If the critic, however, had read the splendid analysis of all the documents bearing upon this question, as exposed by M. Valois, (1) the article in the *Quarterly* would probably have had a different tone. M. Valois shows that the Abbé Gayet did not know some of the documents, and had not carefully examined the documents which he did know, before writing his defence of the rebel prelates who elected Robert of Geneva. In fact, although there is much discussion as to many of the incidents connected with the election of Urban, sufficient is known for certain to establish its validity. It was not brought about either by previous conspiracy or by bribery or simony. There were neither "*prex aut pretium*" (2) used to elect Urban. He was not a cardinal. He was not a Roman. He was a Neapolitan, and Archbishop of Bari.

(1) *Revue des Questions historiques*, October number, 1890.

(2) Canonical reasons for nullifying an election.

The cardinals went into the conclave with a majority in his favor; for the Frenchmen were divided into Frenchmen proper and Limousins, and could not unite on a Frenchman. Bartholomew Prignano was, before the conclave met, a compromise candidate. No secular power intruded into the conclave to justify a claim of nullity of choice, according to the decree of the Fourth Council of Lateran. It is true that mobs shouting "Give us a Roman, or at least an Italian," paraded the streets before the conclave met and while it was in session. It is true that these mobs and the bannerets of the city, a mediæval substitute for our Board of Aldermen, but not a secular power in the sense of the Lateran decree, (1) implored the cardinals to elect a Roman, and threatened some of them with violence if they did not choose a Roman, or at least an Italian. But this threat could not be sufficient to intimidate brave men like the cardinals of that day, many of whom were used to war, and not one of whom had coward blood in his veins. Surely these gallant Frenchmen, some of whom had helped to sack cities and who afterwards made an anti-pope, had some

(1) This decree nullifies ecclesiastical elections in which the secular power forces a choice. A. D. 1215, cap. Quisquis 43, de elect.

of the courage which the Italian Urban himself showed later on, when a mob threatening to kill him surrounded the Vatican. In the words of Creighton, "He ordered the doors of the Vatican to be thrown open to the clamorous mob. When they had rushed in they found the Pope seated on his throne in full pontificals. He calmly asked them what they wanted, and they, abashed by his display of dignity, retired in peace." (1) Were the rebel cardinals all cowards, frightened by a street cry? No! Although we cannot say that any one of them was fit for canonization, they had not the vice of cowardice.

Robert of Geneva himself had been a distinguished soldier. When a proposition was made to them to hold the conclave in the Castle of St. Angelo, where there was a garrison faithful to the Avignon interest, they all, with one exception, replied: "We have nothing to fear: we have the promise of the Romans that they will respect our liberty; they have made such oaths to us that we can count on them."

This is the sworn testimony of the bishop of Catana, as quoted even by the Clementine champion, the Abbé Gayet.

(1) Page 70.

The good reputation of the Archbishop of Bari, the necessity of choosing a Pope not identified with any of the factions in the Electoral College, the justice of the popular demand for an Italian at least, if not a Roman, created a disposition among the cardinals to elect Prignano even before they entered the conclave. It is true that while in session the cardinals could hear the shouts of the mob clamoring at the doors of the conclave, "Give us a Roman, or at least an Italian." The Cardinal of Limoges, an anti-Roman, then nominated Prignano; the Cardinal of Florence nominated Cardinal Tibaldeschi, Cardinal of St. Peter; the Cardinal of Brittany nominated first one Italian cardinal and then another, but finally voted for Prignano, who received all the votes except that of Cardinal Orsini, who voted for no one. This cardinal was certainly not afraid of any one, for after the election he addressed the mob that still shouted its street cry, "Give us a Roman," in these emphatic words: "Get out, you Roman pigs! you annoy us; you officers there, drive away this mob. Ah! if I get out of here with my cudgel, I'll soon drive you out." The crowd still refused to disperse, and shouted: "Give us a Roman, give us a

Roman, or we shall kill you all ! ” They had ceased to cry for an Italian ; nothing would please them now but a Roman. But the election was already over, and a Roman was not chosen. Then, when the tumult had subsided for a time, old Cardinal Tibaldeschi proposed to re-elect Prignano, lest it should be said that his election was brought about by duress. But all the other cardinals objected, saying that it was unnecessary. “ We are all agreed upon Prignano, ” said they, “ just as we were this morning when we elected him. ” Several of the cardinals swore to these facts, and their oaths are quoted even by Abbé Gayet. As the mob still continued to shout and besiege the conclave, Orsini opened the door again and shouted to them : “ Hold your tongues ; you have a Pope. ” “ Who is he ? ” cried the mob. “ Go to St. Peter’s and find out, ” replied Orsini. Then it was that the mob broke into the conclave and pillaged it, — not an unusual thing in the Middle Ages. But Bartholomew Prignano had been already legitimately elected when this violence happened. When the mob found that he was to be their future Pope, they cried out that they did not want him. He was not their choice. He was not a Roman. He

had French affinities. "We do not want him. We are betrayed!" yelled the infuriated Romans. They tried to force Cardinal Tiberius to accept the tiara, but he refused, telling them that Prignano was already chosen. Some cowards then called on Urban and asked him to resign for the sake of peace; but he answered with great spirit, "You do not know me. I would not resign if a thousand swords were pointed at my breast." These facts are all attested by the sworn depositions of Cardinal Marmoutier and of other distinguished eye-witnesses.

In view of these well-authenticated facts we fail to see how any one can seriously question Urban's title. He was several months in possession of the papacy when Robert of Geneva was chosen at Fondi under the name of Clement VII. by the thirteen rebel cardinals, of whom twelve were Frenchmen and one, Peter de Luna, a Spaniard. It is strange that Peter afterwards became an antipope himself, and is known as Benedict XIII. It is strange still that both of these antipopes had voted for Prignano in the conclave which made him Urban VI. To oust Urban from his title requires clear and undisputed testimony. We have no such testimony. We

have indeed the testimony of those rebels who disliked him on account of his severity, and from motives of interest and policy swore their allegiance and lied. Twice they elected him, unanimously crowned him Pope, were silent for several months after his coronation, and only when they found that he would not be their dupe did they begin to question the legitimacy of his title. The testimony of such witnesses is like that of a man who having married a wife and not finding her as amiable or as attractive as he had expected, tires of her after the honeymoon, and then tries to get a divorce, on the ground that he never gave internal consent to the marriage. What judge would believe such a man, or grant a divorce on such testimony? The well-known axiom "*melior est conditio possidentis*" (1) is truly applicable in the case of Urban VI. The prelates who swore that they were intimidated by the mob into electing Urban were notoriously unreliable, and nearly all men of bad character. Robert of Geneva, their leader, was cruel and unprincipled. They were in league with the bad queen of Naples, Urban's enemy, and they

(1) "Possession is nine points of the law."

were deeply interested in not telling the truth. Even the opponents of Urban's legitimacy admit this. Why then accept the testimony of these rebel cardinals as clear and positive proof against Urban? The most their testimony could do is to create a doubt. But what lawyer will maintain that a *bona fide* holder must give up possession because a doubt has been raised against the validity of his title? That the testimony of the rebels only created a doubt is admitted by the American critic of Abbé Gayet's work. Thus he writes: "This succinct narrative of the proceedings in conclave, which it has taken you, good reader, only two minutes to peruse, has been extracted by us out of an enormous mass of deposition. *We are not certain even now that we have stated things as they really happened.*" After an admission of this kind neither the Abbé Gayet nor any one else should abuse the Urbanists, or have the courage to insist on the legitimacy of Clement VII. The champions of Clement doubt their own statement, and yet draw from it an absolutely certain conclusion!

Why, even if the mob, actuated by the worthy motive to have one of their own countrymen to rule over them, had used intima-

tion, it would have to be specific and individualized to destroy freedom of election. The mob used no intimidation that particularized any individual. They did not name Bartholomew Prignano in their tumult, nor attempt to compel the cardinals to elect him. No one claims that they did. We repeat, the mob showed by their displeasure that he was not their choice, when they heard that he had been elected. A threat which was so generic as to render it possible to elect any one of the thousands of ecclesiastics then in Italy or in Rome could not have efficaciously interfered with the individual liberty of the cardinals. The conclusion, therefore, of this discussion should be, that Urban was validly elected ; that his successors were the true Popes, and that the Avignon Popes during the schism were antipopes.

Among their adherents were millions in good faith, — some of them even saints, — who were in error as to a mere fact, but not as to the legitimate Pope title to the obedience of the faithful. St. Antoninus describes their condition in these words : “ For as it is necessary to believe that the Catholic Church is one and not many, so it is obligatory to believe that there is only one chief pastor,

the Vicar of Christ ; but if it happens by schism that several pontiffs are elected or named at one and the same time, it does not seem to be necessary for salvation to believe that this or that or the other, but that *one* of them is legitimate, namely, he who is canonically elected. But no one is bound to know which is canonically elected, or to know the canon law ; but in this matter the people may follow their superiors or prelates " (Chronicon, part III, tit. 22, c. 2). Nor would the charge made by the " Convocation " of Pisa, to use an appropriate Anglican term, that Gregory XII., the legitimate successor of Urban VI., by persisting in claiming his right, had become a defender of inveterate schism, and had thus implicitly denied the unity of the Church, and was consequently guilty of " notorious heresy, " and had thus forfeited his pontifical throne, avail aught against his title. The very charge itself involves a contradiction. The acephalous Council of Pisa had no jurisdiction to try him, in fact had no authority at all ; and if he was the true pontiff, holding supreme authority over the whole Church, by defending his authority against his adversaries, who were at least material if not formal schisma-

tics, he neither by word nor act denied the unity of the Church, but rather defended that unity against unjust aggressors. The Council of Constance showed what it thought of this accusation made by the Pisans, by refusing to give it any consideration. (1)

The judgment of Pisa never was approved or sanctioned by any competent or legitimate authority in the Church. How could such approbation be given? In the fourth session of this illegal assembly of Pisa the legates of the Emperor Rupert put the case of Gregory before the cardinals in such a way as to be unanswerable. "How," said the legates, can some of you (those who had deserted Gregory) withdraw from the allegiance of a Pope whom you have up to this admitted to be legitimate, before he has been tried, convicted and dethroned? How can you or any one else convoke a General Council, since

(1) It is true that Gregory XII. before his election took an oath to resign if by doing so he could put an end to the schism, and refused to keep the oath after his election. For this Hefele blames him, but I think unjustly: firstly, because Gregory's oath was subject to certain conditions which were not fulfilled at Pisa. One of them was the resignation of the antipope Benedict XIII., Peter de Luna. Secondly, because it is doubtful if Gregory's oath was obligatory. It was forced on him by the electors.

In any case, the breaking of a lawful oath, although a great sin, would not forfeit title to the papacy. He did resign afterwards at Constance, when the conditions satisfied him that he was bound to keep his oath.

you have no authority over it ? How can you oblige Pope Gregory to obey this assembly, of which a part has always been opposed to him, of which another part has forsworn its allegiance to him, and of which another part has never professed allegiance to him or to Peter de Luna, the so called Benedict XIII. ?”

“ How can two factions, the one legitimate, the other illegitimate, meet together and mutually bestow on each other the right to elect a Supreme Pontiff ? The head of the legitimate faction should give his consent to make their action legal ; but in this case the head of both factions refuses consent to the purpose of the acephalous assembly. ”

The puzzled cardinals and canonists of Pisa could not answer these questions, but proceeded with their unauthorized work, and the legates of Gregory withdrew.

There was no break, therefore, in the line of legitimacy from Urban to Gregory, and to the Council of Constance. Even if we should concede that it was the duty of Urban or of some of his successors during the schism, of Boniface IX., of Innocent VII., or of Gregory XII., considering the disputes about his election and the great and scandalous schism consequent on it, in the interest of peace and

Christian charity to resign his office ; even if it be granted that some one of these sinned in retaining it, he could not be deprived of it on that account, nor would his title be the less strong. He could not be deprived of his office for any crime save that of heresy ; as has been decided by the condemnation of the 8th article of Wiclef and of the 12th, 13th, 20th, 22d, and 24th articles of John Huss in the Council of Constance. The law, therefore, as well as the facts, are against the contention of the Abbé Gayet.

II.

Let us now see how the Schism of the West was legally ended.

As a matter of history it was terminated in the Council of Constance by the deposition of John XXIII., successor to Alexander V., illegally elected by the "Convocation" of Pisa and of Benedict XIII., the Spanish Cardinal Peter de Luna, the successor of the antipope Robert of Geneva, Clement VII.; by the resignation of the legitimate Pope, Gregory XII., and by the canonical election of Martin V. Many points of law arise from the considera-

tion of these facts. These points have not been clearly explained by some of the theologians who wrote prior to the Vatican Council's explicit decrees regarding the rights and privileges of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. No explanation of the question can now be satisfactory, save one that is in perfect accord with the decrees of that Council. It is necessary, then, to bear in view what it teaches concerning the primacy of St. Peter.

It teaches, firstly, that the Roman Church has by divine appointment the primacy of ordinary power over all other churches; secondly, that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff is really episcopal and immediate; thirdly, that pastors and people of every rite and dignity, taken singly or taken altogether, are bound to him by the duty of hierarchical subordination and of true obedience; fourthly, that this obedience is not confined to matters of faith and morals, but that it extends to all matters pertaining to the discipline and to the government of the Church throughout the world: so that by unity of communion as well as of faith with the Roman Pontiff the Church of Christ is made one flock under one shepherd. "This," says the Council, "is the teaching of Catholic

truth, from which teaching no one can swerve without losing faith and salvation. "

From these decrees certain conclusions follow, which shed light on the legal controversies that arise out of the schism.

It follows that legitimate election is the only condition necessary for a Roman Pontiff to enter the line of the successors of St. Peter ; and by such election the pontiff receives the whole divinely conferred power of the primacy.

This power he receives immediately from Christ, and not from the electors, who cannot give what they have not. The pontiff once chosen, the whole Church, pastors and people, become subject to his authority. Not even the whole united Church has any jurisdiction over its supreme pastor ; but he has full power over it, to be used according to divine ordinances. Therefore there is in the Church no power to take away or abridge the authority of a Roman Pontiff. His power can only terminate in the manner prescribed by the Canon Law, that is, by voluntary resignation as happened in the case of Cœlestine V., or for the sole cause laid down in the law and theology of the Church, viz., for manifest and contumacious heresy. This latter case

has never arisen in the Church. No Pope, even as a private teacher, has ever been convicted of heresy. Whether such a case ever will arise is doubtful. The best theologians hold that Christ's love and providential care of the Church will prevent her visible head from ever falling into heresy, even in his unofficial capacity.

The whole Church, the kingdom of truth, is guaranteed by divine promise that the Holy Ghost will abide in her forever and prevent her from falling into either formal or material heresy, from positively denying a revealed truth, or from affirming that something is revealed which is not. By the same promise of eternal unity, of which the centre and the visible chain is the Roman Pontiff, the whole Church, the body of Christ, can never be separated from its head by formal or material schism. Schism and heresy may be partial or national, but can never be Catholic. Hence if at any time a secession of the whole Church from the allegiance to a Roman Pontiff should take place, such universal secession could not be from a true and legitimate Pope depriving him of his power, but would be a sure sign that the one thus deserted by the whole Church was a usurper,

and an intruder in the chair of St. Peter. Such a case was that of the persistent anti-pope Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII., whom the whole Church repudiated.

The acts of the Council of Pisa were therefore invalid. It was not convoked by a legitimate pontiff, his legates did not preside over it, and no legitimate pontiff ever approved its acts. It is strange, therefore, that Wouters should agree with Muzzarelli in calling it a doubtfully Ecumenical Council; and that Hefele should be so friendly to John XXIII., the successor of Alexander V. Everything necessary to make an Ecumenical Council was lacking at Pisa. We have already seen that it usurped the power of the legitimate pontiff, Gregory XII., and could not answer the arguments of his legates. Even if Gregory was not legitimate, Benedict XIII., was legitimate. These were the only two claimants to the papacy at that time, and all admitted that either one or the other was legitimate. The approbation of either one was necessary to give value and ecumenicity to the Pisan assembly. But both Gregory and Benedict protested against it and attempted to prevent it. In presuming to elect another Pope, to whom it gave the name of Alexander V., it

simply added to the number of antipopes. Good faith or a lack of clear knowledge as to the nature of the primacy of St. Peter might excuse ecclesiastics of the fifteenth century ; but it is hard to excuse recent Catholic writers for claiming even a doubtful ecumenicity for an illegal convocation of layprinces, disobedient cardinals, and incompetent canonists. The axiom, therefore, frequently used by old theologians, that "a doubtful Pope is no Pope," is true only when there is a universal doubt in the Church of his legitimacy, and a universal secession from his authority on account of this universal doubt. The axiom, however, is not true if through political or other disturbances, doubts and secessions should arise which would lead astray a part or even the greater part of the Church from obedience to him who was legitimately chosen as Supreme Pontiff. The Catholic Church is always with the legitimate pontiff, and nowhere else, even though he be in the minority. A majority in the Church does not give title or confer jurisdiction.

But if a part of the Church should fall into material schism, and without guilt believe some one to be the legitimate Pope, and in good faith obey him as such, his juridical

acts, especially those which regard the forum of conscience, acquire value *ex titulo colorato*. Yet neither he nor any other inferior authority, even though legitimate, in the Church, can validly abrogate or change the laws made by a legitimate pontiff, especially those which determine the validity of an act concerning the very visible foundation of the Church, as is the election of its head.

In the light of these principles we can now answer the question, How was the schism legally terminated? Both Suarez and Bellarmine give to this question an answer which is no longer acceptable. They say that when the Council of Constance met there were three claimants to the papacy, Gregory XII., Benedict XIII., and John XXIII. The authority of each of these was disputed by the adherents of his two opponents; hence they were all doubtful pontiffs, and a doubtful pontiff is no pontiff. As Suarez puts it: "None of these was certain; consequently not one of them was Pope, because none of them was accepted by a sufficient consent of the Church." In this case of universal doubt, therefore, the Council of Constance could proceed to elect a Pope, and the election, although contrary to pre-existing laws and forms, would be valid.

But neither Suarez nor Bellarmine would or could hold that opinion now, since the decision of the Vatican Council has cleared away the clouds of this discussion. It is strange that Suarez should require a "sufficient consent" or any "consent" of the Church to give the pontiff-elect a true title. The Roman Pontiff gets his authority immediately from Christ, and not from the Church. The consent of the Church follows as a duty after the election of a pope. This consent is a consequence of Christ's prayer and promise that the Church shall always be one. Besides, the Council of Constance changed the mode of election and changed the number and character of the electors, and did many other things contrary to the laws established by Alexander III., Gregory X., and Clement V. whose legitimacy no one disputed. But how could the council make these radical changes without the authority of a legitimate Roman Pontiff? The inferior cannot change what is done by a superior authority; and Suarez himself teaches that "the Supreme Pontiff alone has the right to prescribe the mode of his election and succession." But if when the Council of Constance met there was no true pontiff in the Church, because the authority of the three

claimants was disputed, and if the council acted, as he supposes, by its own authority, its action according to his own teaching was illegal and invalid. It had no authority to change the mode of electing the Pope, if there was no Pope to give it (if a doubtful Pope is no Pope). The council, however, changed the mode of election in two essentials — by giving even to simple priests as well as to bishops who did not belong to the Roman clergy at all the right to vote, contrary to the law which restricted to cardinals the privilege of voting for a Pope. There must therefore have been a legitimate Pope somewhere during the schism. Some one of the claimants must have been legitimate; and whoever he was we must look to him for a solution of the problem of validity and legitimacy in all the acts of the Council of Constance. He may have been a doubtful Pope, in the sense that many Christians doubted his legitimacy and consequently refused to obey him. But he was not doubtful in law or right, though for some he was doubtful in fact. The principle of legitimacy and competent authority must have been somewhere to make legitimate and valid so many things done contrary to the old forms and laws of

the Church. But, as Cardinal Franzelin strongly argues : " A difficulty arises even in regard to the cardinals of the three obediences, and these theologians neither solve nor even mention it, nor do we see how they can solve it in their hypothesis. For if for almost forty years — that is, from March 27, 1378, when Gregory XI. died, to the election of Martin V. in November, 1417 — there was no true Roman Pontiff, how could all those cardinals created by those pontiffs be deemed legitimate and competent to legislate, and although of different obediences and created by opposing pontiffs acknowledge one another as legitimate and competent to legislate both in the 'Convocation' at Pisa and in the Council at Constance, and even, in opposition to the very Popes who created them, claim and use all the rights of cardinals ?" The consent of some Pope was necessary to make the action of those cardinals legitimate. The canonists of Pisa could not answer this question, and it is evident therefore that the solution of the difficulty given by some of the old theologians can no longer be accepted.

The true explanation of the legal termination of the great schism rests on the historical fact, which I have already proved, that Urban

VI. was legally elected, and that his successor, Gregory XII., was the only legitimate successor of St. Peter when the Council of Constance took place. By Gregory's authority alone could this gathering of ecclesiastics become a true council, and its acts valid. The question then is : Did Gregory legitimate the gathering and the subsequent acts of the Council up to the election of Martin V. ? The documents show that Gregory did. He sent legates to Constance with full power to act for him. He gave to John de Dominicis and to Charles de Malatesta full power of changing the assembly at Constance into a true and legitimate council. He gave them (to use his own words) " from the plenitude of his power the full and free faculty of constituting the assembly at Constance a true and legitimate council, " and of " convoking and authorizing a general council for the extirpation of horrid schism and perfecting entire union " in the Church.

He gave to the same legates, from " the fulness of his power, " the faculty of approving in advance, in the name of the pontiff, whatever the council would do for this purpose " as our representatives, " he says, " of authorizing, approving, and confirming what-

ever will be decreed for the restoration and union of the Church and the extirpation of schism by the same assembly," that is, after it had convened and been authorized as a General Council. Now the ecclesiastical gathering at Constance admitted the authority of Gregory to convoke and authorize it to proceed to take measures for the restoration of unity in the Church. Cardinal de Dominici, the legate of Gregory, in the fourteenth session, July 4, 1415, solemnly proclaimed this fact : " In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. By the authority of our lord the Pope, as far as concerns him, in order that Christians disunited by the profession of different obediences may be joined together in the unity of holy Church and in the bond of charity, I convoke this sacred General Council, and I authorize and confirm all that is to be done by it, according to the manner and form fully expressed in the letter of our lord the Pope." Gregory had already refused to recognize the authority of John XXIII., the last of the Pisan anti-popes ; and had expressly said that he gave approval to the gathering at Constance, " not as convened by Balthasar, who calls himself John XXIII., but as brought about by his

Serene Majesty Sigismund," the emperor. The council, being thus legal by the approval of a legitimate Pope, proceeded to carry out its purpose in a legal manner. It first decreed that the adherents both of Gregory and of John were now united "in the one body of Jesus Christ and of this sacred General Council," and then removed all censures incurred or inflicted on account of the schism, restoring the subjects of both "obediences" to all their dignities and offices, and dispensing them from all impediments to a general rehabilitation. Then the council, with the authority of Gregory, decreed that for this once the mode and form of the future election of the Roman Pontiff, after a vacancy should occur, would be reserved to the council; so that by no pretext of resignation or of vacancy in the Apostolic See or in the papacy during the present council should an attempt be made to elect a Pope "save in the manner, form, place, time and matter" (that is, in the matter of those having the right to vote) "to be determined by the council." Certainly so important a decree as this, dealing as it does with the highest affairs of the Church, could have no value without pontifical sanction. No one will hold that an unau-



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thorized council could thus usurp authority reserved to the head of the Church. There was, however, no usurpation. Gregory, the legitimate pontiff, had not yet resigned. He had "authorized, approved, and confirmed" what was to be decreed by the council, "*quæ disponentur per concilium*" for the purpose of restoring union and of extirpating the schism; and as these decrees of the council were evidently for that purpose, they were made valid by the Pope's approval and sanction. The facts that followed are well known. In the sixteenth session Gregory XII. resigned, through his legate Cardinal de Malatesta. This resignation left the See of Rome vacant; but the council had been authorized by Gregory to act and to determine "the mode, form and place, time and matter," of the canonical election of his successor. Acting on this pontifical authorization, the council elected Martin V. on Nov. 11, 1417, and thus legally put an end to the schism.

III

From the history and controversy of this destructive schism we may deduce many

corollaries which merit the serious thought of all Catholics in our own times. We learn from this schism how dangerous it is to the peace of the Church to permit any secular power to have influence in the conclave. The election of the Pope should be absolutely free, so as to forestall excuses for schism. Hence the place of the conclave should be subject to no prince. The Popes should be temporal sovereigns ; their territory, be it great or small, absolutely inviolable ; and in that territory the conclave ought to be held. The schism of the West furnishes arguments for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. There are some, I know, who dream of a possible spiritual independence of the papacy, without temporal power. But we ask when or where the Popes were absolutely free, *de jure* and *de facto*, except when they were temporal sovereigns ? They should be permanently free *de jure* as well as *de facto*, and this is only possible with the temporal power restored. All the facts of history are against the platonic dream of a spiritual independence of the papacy when it is subject to king, kaiser, or mob. The restoration of the temporal power is therefore a necessary guarantee to the freedom of the conclave. The

attempt of Crispi, the late prime-minister of the king of Sardinia, to get a pledge from the *Dreibund* to coerce the future conclave to elect a Pope who would sanction Sardinian usurpation shows what is to be expected from any civil government which can claim the Pope as a subject. As the Pope is bishop of Rome, it follows also that he should live in Rome, and never leave it unless some extraordinary circumstance should justify a change of residence. It is true that the Pope is above the canon law, but the canon law requires a bishop to live in his own see. The consequences of the change of residence to Avignon teach us the danger of a transfer of the Papal Court to a foreign city. One of the greatest misfortunes that could happen in the Church would be the creation of an antipope ; and there is a government not far from Rome that would like to make one, if the legitimate Pope should leave the Eternal City. The possibility of an antipope is not so remote as some imagine. Even in our own century, Napoleon, if he had returned victorious from his Russian campaign, (1) would have probably created a French antipope, as his royal predecessors

(1) See three articles of Henri Taine in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May and June, 1891, on *La Reconstruction de l'Eglise de France*, 1800.

had helped to do in the fifteenth century. Italian freemasonry and Saxon heresy are not greater lovers of the Church than Buonaparte.

But God will ever watch over and protect His Church. In the whole of this troubled and gloomy period of the great schism we have to admire the wonderful providence of Our Lord over His Church, and His fidelity to His promise to remain with her all days, even to the consummation of the world. Never before was the bark of Peter in such danger or the faith of the passengers so tried. Not even during the persecution of Diocletian, when a medal was struck with the boast inscribed on it that the Christian name was destroyed; not even when all Christendom awoke after Rimini, "and found itself Arian," — to borrow the exaggerated expression of St Jerome, — was there such temptation for Christians to doubt the divine promises. It was not merely a mutiny among the crew or among the subordinate officers, as all the schisms had hitherto been, from the Donatists to Photius and to Michael Cerularius. The very source and fount of authority, law, and order, was in danger. The troubled faithful asked, "Who is the Head?" "Which is the Captain?" "Where is the

Pilot ? ” The bark of Peter was tossed, apparently foundering, in the trough of a stormy sea, while different claimants fought for control of the very wheel which alone could steer her safely to port. The Master seemed to have deserted her or to be asleep. Then from every pious heart went up the cry that roused Him on the Lake of Genezareth, *Domine salva nos, perimus*, — “ Lord save us or we perish.” He heard the prayer. He put forth His omnipotent hand. He quelled again the winds and the waves. The ship of Peter righted and continued her course, while the crew with renewed faith and courage continued to sing the old anthem of defiance and of victory, “ The gates of hell shall never prevail against her. ”

THE REAL JESUIT
AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIFE OF
REV. THEODORE THIRY, S. J.
A DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CHURCH,
NEW YORK
ON APRIL 13TH, 1889

« The simplicity of the
just shall guide them. »—
Proverbs xiv, 3.

FATHER Theodore Thiry was born in the East of France in the city of Metz on December 14, 1823, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1843. He was consequently sixty-five years and three months old on the day of his death the thirteenth of the last month. He came to St. Francis Xavier's College in 1848 and from that date till his death, a period of forty-one years, in the college and in the parish he labored incessantly for the good of

souls. It would be hard to say whether the college or the parish profited the more by his labors, or whether his pupils or his parishioners miss him the more. In the parish he died director of the men's sodality, of the St. Vincent de Paul Conference, of the Xavier Branch of the Catholic Knights of America, and moderator of the Literary Society ; and he was some time ago also director of the young men's and of the boys' sodalities. All these flourished under his care. The Literary Society was founded by him in 1871 and is therefore eighteen years old ; a long period of vitality, as those know who have tried to found such societies in their parishes. In the college he taught for a time some of the grammar classes and the class of classics, and was for years the director of the Junior and Senior Sodalities. It was as director of the Senior Sodality of the College that I met and knew him first thirty-four years ago.

But his labors were not confined to the College and the parish. As director of the great work of the Holy Childhood his mind was occupied for years with the saving of the outcast children of pagan China, and the last report of this wide spread apostolic charity was made by him while suffering from his

last illness. Thus to the end did he toil and of him we can justly say with the psalmist, "old age is a crown of dignity when it is found in the ways of justice." (Proverbs xvi, v. 31.)

In trying to appreciate Father Thiry's character we are first struck with his extraordinary activity and talent for detail. To make rules for all these societies and sodalities, to keep their various accounts in order, to adapt himself to the different temperaments of the young and of the old ; at the same time to teach his classes, examine the compositions of the students and stimulate them to study, attend often to the sick calls and the confessions of the parish, required on his part restless labor and wonderful tact. Yet in the discharge of all these duties his success was marked. His scholars were always successful ; the societies over which he presided always prospered. He had a talent for inventing new attractions either for the class that he taught or the sodality of which he was the director. Especially in the direction of boys and young men he knew how to make them love their sodalities or the classes in which he was professor. He sometimes divided the class into two sections, and stimulated

its members to lawful emulation by enlisting them under separate flags. He thus appealed to the military instinct in the heart of every boy. He was magnetic and drew all to him even as a confessor. No one in the parish or college had more penitents than Father Thiry.

He was a man of taste as well as of invention. This taste showed itself particularly in the sodalities which he directed. He attracted especially the college boys by processions, beautiful regalia for the officers, sweet music, and esthetic ornamentation of the sodality chapel. He understood the young imagination and how susceptible it is to the charms of the beautiful. He also took an interest in dramatic entertainments and interested his pupils in them.

Although naturally quick, for he was a Frenchman, he never really lost his temper. Yet although he usually had a smile and was gentle, his face could cloud at times, and he was firm in enforcing obedience to law and discipline. His firmness was unflinching, for there never was a mutiny either among the boys or the men whom he governed. His word was the law in his class or in his sodality. He was obeyed from love and respect, but also from

that salutary fear which is always felt by the subject when he knows that his ruler cannot be easily moved. He was patient as well as firm, for he knew that "the patient man is better than the valiant; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh cities." (Proverbs xvi, v. 32.)

But it was not owing to any gift of nature, to an active temperament, to natural tact, a talent for detail or versatility of character that Father Thiry owed his success as a priest and teacher. These qualities were indeed the pedestal upon which the grace of God built the supernatural edifice of his life. They were never destroyed but rather developed and directed by the training which he had received in the gymnasium of St. Ignatius' asceticism. Some who do not understand this asceticism accuse it of being like a bed of Procrustes which destroys individuality, reducing all characters to the same common level. But this is a mistake, the result of ignorance. The spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius will indeed cut off excrescences and clip the wings of exuberant imagination, and it would be well for some of those who assail the spirituality of the Saint of Manresa, if the wings of their fancy were clipped, for in

that case their judgment would be improved and their theology always correct ; but the " exercises " do not destroy individualism. Facts prove the absurdity of the charge. The whole Jesuit system of training is calculated to bring out the special gift of those who submit to it. The Jesuit superior always adapts the right man to the right place ; and gives to the individual every opportunity for improving and perfecting his special talent. The whole history of the Society proves this ; for in the whole encyclopedia of science, in the whole cycle of missionary work Jesuits are everywhere conspicuous. In their society there is no misunderstanding of character or talent. The astronomer is never put in the place that should be filled by the theologian. Secchi is in one place, Franzelin in the other. If the Jesuit missionary loves to work in the field of paganism, he is never kept away from the objet of his zeal. De Smet goes to the Indians, Thiry is kept in New York. Although all are bound by obedience, yet the yoke is made easy by adapting it to the disposition of the individual and putting him to the task which best befits his natural character and inclinations. The proof of this is found in Father Thiry himself. Was ever man more

fitted for the works in which he was interested, for the duties which he discharged to the edification of his superiors and brothers, to the sanctification of thousands of souls and to the greater glory of the Triune God? It was the very knowledge of the fact that in the Society he would find the widest field for the exercise of all desires and aspirations for the good of his own soul and of his fellow man that led him to enter the Jesuit novitiate at Irrenheim, September 11, 1843, to continue his studies at Brugelettes in Belgium and afterwards at Fordham in this State and to be to the close of his happy career a model member of the community—a type of the perfect happiness attained by those who make no mistake about their vocation and, having found it, faithfully correspond with all its graces. We can imagine this bright young man of twenty summers, full of gay life and hope but at the same time deeply religious and enthusiastic, studying carefully the character and history of the famous religious order before he joined its ranks. He was impressed by its chief natural characteristic—the purpose to drive out or weaken sensuality by the continual cultivation of man's spiritual nature. For the Jesuit is in

everything a student, a man devoted to science. He admired again the military character of the order. The old Spanish soldier who founded it knew that obedience is the first requisite of a good soldier and so he inscribed on the standard of his company *obediens usque ad mortem*. By this principle he drove the spear of faith into the very head of the serpent of pride. Yes, obedience is always necessary, even for those who have reached the highest point of spiritual development, lest pride should then be the occasion of the greater fall. The true ascetic always fears for himself and brings his guide with him even to the top of Mount Tabor. In the Alpine summit the guide is more needed than at the foot of the mountain.

In choosing his vocation he compared this religious order with the others that had gone before it. Looking over the battle fields of the past he saw the learned Benedictines conquering the barbarians who had settled down on the ruin of the Roman Empire ; later the seraphic Franciscans purifying the clergy who had grown corrupt by excess of riches ; then the eloquent Dominicans instructing a laity which through ignorance had become the prey of heresy.

All these filled him with admiration. But his attention became concentrated on this order of more recent origin. It had none of the esthetic attractions of the older orders. Its dress was plain and modern, its arms befitting the new warfare against the Church. He saw it in the front of battle ever since its foundation. If some historian arose to assail the Church by a false statement; if some philosopher attacked her with a false theory; if some theologian assailed her with sophistry, with an erroneous system in dogma, in morals, or in asceticism; if some king or statesman tried to deprive her of liberty, if there was a rebellion from within or an onslaught from without, he saw at every point of assault, a member of this religious order stationed armed with the unerring spear of truth and the sword of logic against the unjust aggressor. He saw that the members of this religious order never surrendered, never compromised and never relaxed their discipline. Beaten from the field they might be exiled from their native land, they might be disbanded by a mistake of their general-in-chief, who lived to deplore his mistake—a mistake soon corrected by his successors,—but even in retreat they carried away their

flag, even in exile they preserved their discipline ; and when disbanded they proved themselves heroes by enduring patiently the greatest injustice submitting to wrong without a mutiny or even a murmur. They submitted because on their coat of arms was engraven the motto of Jesus Christ, "*Obediens usque ad mortem.*" There was something in the whole history of this gallant company of Christian soldiers which appealed strongly to the impulsive nature and hot blood of the young Frank. He belonged to a race and people who have always hated oppression, loved liberty, and who, no matter what their other shortcomings, have never been tainted with cowardice. He was struck with the splendid discipline and unconquerable gallantry of these soldiers. He saw a body of men, the picked scholars of the Church versed in every science ; not merely the foremost theologians and polemics, but even among the foremost classical and scientific scholars of Europe ; not merely an honor to the Church but reflecting glory on the state.

The battle torn flag of the Society had a peculiar charm for the chivalrous young Frenchman, and so he became a conscript under its folds before he was twenty-one

years of age. At that very time the Society was undergoing persecution ; five years after he had enlisted all its Colleges were closed and seven years after his enlistment it was banished from his native land by a royal decree.

Let us pause here a moment, gentlemen, to examine the reasons for this and similar decrees of banishment of the society to which Father Thiry belonged. It is proper to do so now because in a neighboring province and even in our own republic and in this great metropolis these decrees of banishment have been brought forward as arguments against the loyal citizenship of our beloved teachers and guides. The United States Senate has been recently disgraced by the bigotry of a gentleman from a section of the country in which two hundred years ago they burned witches, and enacted the following decrees :

“ It is ordered by the authority of this Court that no Jesuit... shall henceforth come within this jurisdiction, and if any person shall give cause of suspicion that he is one of such society, he shall be brought before some of the magistrates, and if he cannot free himself, he shall be bound to the Court of Assistants, to be heard and proceeded with by

banishment, or otherwise ; and if any such person, so banished, shall be taken the second time within this jurisdiction, he shall upon lawful trial and conviction, be put to death. "

This was a law of the old colony of Massachusetts Bay passed on May 26, 1647. This United States Senator in public speech and in recent writing seems to regret that that law is not yet in force. Now what is the argument of the Senator and other bigots against the Jesuits ? It is that because they have been expelled by nearly every government in Europe, they are not fit to live in our republic. But do these gentlemen try to find out the reasons for their expulsion, or the motives of their enemies in persecuting them ? No, prejudice prevents them. What are the facts ? In the 18th Century, an age of infidelity and materialism, a conspiracy of Bourbon Kings and their prime ministers was formed against the Jesuits because they were the ablest champions of Christianity and of the liberty of the Church. They were driven out of Portugal by Pombal because they defended the rights and liberties of the Christian Indians of Paraguay against the avarice of Portuguese merchants and the usurpation of the Portu-

guese government. The Jesuits had established a Christian republic in Paraguay and had realized the Utopia of Sir Thomas More among their converts. The premier of Portugal wished to destroy their semi-independence and for this purpose exiled its champions the Jesuit fathers who were fighting for the liberties of the converted Indians. Why were they driven out of Spain by Aranda? Was it for favoring despotism or for subserviency to Kings? No! It was for denying the King's right to the throne. It was also because some Jesuit theologians had taught that in certain cases it is lawful to kill a tyrant.

There is no doubt that one of the chief reasons for their persecution by all the Bourbons was this teaching to which however the Jesuits were never committed as a body; and the fact that all their theologians denied the Divine right of Kings. When James the First of England wrote a work in defense of that right the Jesuit Suarez refuted him in a work remarkable for its attacks on despotism. It is notorious that they were driven out of France by the most licentious of Bourbon monarchs Louis XV. whose orgies would disgrace a Heliogabalus or a Domitian. The intrigue of a Parisian harlot, the king's mistress Madame

de Pompadour, and of Choiseul caused them to be expelled from that country. The Jesuit confessor of Louis XV refused to give him the sacraments unless he dismissed De Pompadour, and for this act of Christian zeal and fidelity to duty the whole order was expelled. Their expulsion from the smaller States was due to the same Bourbon conspiracy. How absurd then to argue against them from the mere fact of their expulsion. It is true those governments were nominally Catholic; but you might as well call Judas Iscariot or Julian the Apostate Catholics, as to give that name to Pombal, Aranda, Choiseul or the Jansenistic leaders of the French parliament.

Why were they driven out of Switzerland in 1848? It was for defending the municipal rights of the Catholic Cantons, the rights of those Cantons to control their own internal affairs, the rights of the Catholic minority against the usurpation of the Protestant majority. This was the aim of the *Sonderbund*, and when it was defeated and broken up the Jesuits were expelled and the Catholics oppressed. They were again martyrs to the principle of local liberty, which also implied personal freedom.

How then can any true American who loves

liberty base an argument against the Jesuits upon the fact of their banishment from European countries when that banishment has been the work of despotic kings and infidel politicians who hated them for the liberties and the Christianity which they loved ? It is natural for every enemy of Christianity to hate the Jesuits, that every despot who wishes to enslave the Church should begin his work by attacking them. They are the most formidable antagonists for civil despotism ; the trained champions of orthodox faith. Persecution like lightning first strikes the most prominent object in the landscape. The infidel or the despot knows that his plot will be at once detected by the Jesuit ; that sophisms cannot mislead his bright intellect, his trained mind. He tries therefore to get rid of the Jesuit first that he may the more easily enslave the rest of the Church afterwards. From the days of Choiseul to Bismarck — this has been the programme of the enemies of the Church. But an American who lives in a free republic, should love these men for the enemies they have made. Nearly fifty years before Massachusetts had enacted penal laws against them, Jesuits had accompanied Lord Baltimore to Maryland and

planted there the standard of religious liberty for the first time in our colonies. The true American will not fail to contrast this conduct of the Maryland Jesuits with the New England puritans. The first Archbishop of Baltimore, the patriotic John Carroll, the friend of Washington, was a member of the Society, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton was their pupil. Will any doubt their love of liberty and American Independence ?

It can be easily proved that there is no body of men in the land who more thoroughly realize the ideal of American citizenship than the Jesuits. Take up their books of theology and you will find them always on the side of liberty. They defended the freedom of the human will and the natural good of man against Luther and Calvin and the school of " Total Depravity. " They defended the rights of nature and the rights of man against the Jansenists. The systems known in theology as " Molinism, " " Congruism, " " Probabilism, " with which the Jesuits have become to a great extent identified, are all on the side of human nature as against even the appearance of exaggerated supernaturalism ; on the side of liberty against law. Wherever a Jesuit can strike a blow for poor human

nature he is ready to do it. In politics their writers are unanimously against the divine right of Kings. Fourteen of their greatest theologians, chiefly Spaniards, are accused of defending the doctrine that it is justifiable in certain cases to kill a tyrant. Among their great writers on law there is not one Courtier, not one Gallican. The bitterest enemies of the Jesuit in the Church have been the *aulici*; writers who exaggerated the power of the King and permitted his interference in spirituals. If this were the time or the place it could be proven that our own declaration of independence is identical with the teaching of the Jesuit theologians. Its assertion of individual and natural rights in person and property as against the state or community; our constitutional system of checks and balances which prevent the centralization of government — all this is in absolute agreement with the teaching of the Jesuit schools and theologians.

The ideal American citizen is he that is best educated, and most moral. The foes of our liberties are ignorance and irreligion. Now the Jesuit is a most enlightened scholar whose whole life is spent in trying to dispel ignorance. He is a Christian gentleman whose

life is spent in doing good, in protecting the rights of property and the purity of the family through the pulpit and the Confessional. No man therefore is better fitted for the enjoyment of our liberties than he. The moles of bigotry may question his loyalty and make false charges, but he challenges the investigation of all fair minded men. The stale and stupid charge that the Jesuit has two doctrines, an esoteric and an exoteric one, is the invention of hate and calumny. There is only one word to characterize those prejudiced fanatics who persist in attributing to the Society the doctrines of that famous forgery the "*Monita Secreta*;" it is a strong word but it is scriptural, "they are liars and the truth is not in them. "

True American citizenship is symbolized in the stars of our flag. They indicate light, liberty and truth. Who so well fitted to live under it therefore as those men whose lives are devoted to the spreading of knowledge, christian liberty and the truths of the gospel? The stripes on our flag are not for such as these, but for the foreign aggressor and the native bigot. The bird that symbolizes our freedom loves the light and soars to the sun. He is also a fitting symbol of a soci-

ety that all its life has striven after the light of science — not the bat of ignorance and prejudice alike hostile to the interest of our Country and the Society of Jesus. The whole life of Father Thiry in this city for forty-one years is a sufficient answer to these calumniators. Who loved his adopted country more than he? who more devoted to its liberties and to the welfare of the city which was so long his home? He loved human liberty everywhere as well as in America. His heart was full of feeling for struggling nationalities. The poor as well as the rich of his parish can tell of his affection for the exiled sons of Erin and his enthusiastic sympathy with them in their efforts to free their native land from the bonds of the oppressor. Many generations of boys and young men passed through his Classes or his Sodalties and all can bear witness to the fact that he inspired them with his own love of our common country and its starry banner. The spirit of American patriotism inspired his whole life among us and of him we can say what is said of the venerable patriot Eleazar in the book of Machabees "Thus did this man die, leaving not only to young men, but also to the whole nation, the memory of his death, for an example of

virtue and fortitude. " (II Mach., vi, 31.)

Yet the chief attraction for the young man in the Society of Jesus, was neither its superb militant record, nor its devotion to science although the first appealed to his natural courage ; and the second to his love for books and study. But he found in the society something else that struck the key-note of his own character- He saw in it two distinct classes of eminent men and saints ; great theologians like Bellarmine, Suarez and De Lugo, great saints like Ignatius and Xavier forming the first ; men of great intellect, aggressiveness, wonderful force of character and zeal. To the other class belong saints, Aloysius, Kostka and Berchmans, gentle, sweet characters whose lives were like a pastoral poem, full of rural beauty and simplicity. He found that this order fulfilled both parts of the counsel of Christ " Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves " (Matthew chap. x, v. 16). While he admired the skill in controversy, the prudence in government of the Society, he saw in it also the Christian simplicity which specially corresponded to his own nature, drew him into the order and characterized his whole life. He saw that the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius not only

made men strong but simple in their lives.

The naturalist can, out of some part of the body found among the rocks, make the plan of the whole living being to which it belonged, even though it be of antediluvian origin. We too can from the most distinguishing virtue in Father Thiry's old age, judge what was the peculiar charm of his youth before he became a Jesuit, although there is no one whom I know who was then his associate. The silver thread which runs through his whole career and on which his good deeds are hung like a rosary of diamonds is Christian simplicity. As in the sonata of a master composer the same melody runs through all the movements though the time and the measure may often change, from the *allegro* at the beginning to the *andante* toward the close, so in the life of Father Thiry the words of my text were always verified "the simplicity of the just shall guide them. "

This simplicity, my brethren, is not like natural simplicity, often indicating lack of prudence or intelligence.

On the contrary, Christian simplicity is always the accompaniment of Christian genius and heroic virtue. Christian simplicity is drawn from the Cradle of Bethlehem; it comes

from devotion to the Holy Child Jesus. It makes the intellect clear to see the truth, honest to embrace it ; for it is the foe of sophism and crookedness. It renders genius humble ; for it makes it logical in recognizing the fact that truth is infinite, the human mind limited and human nature weak. It makes the sinner sincere in his sorrow and frank in confessing his fault. It follows the straight road which leads to truth and virtue, and never tries to justify an evil deed or a voluntary error. It is the spirit of the Babe of Bethlehem, without guile and robed in innocence. This spirit appeared in the sweet little letters which many of us annually received from him towards the beginning of January the month of the "Holy Infancy," asking us to send our contributions towards the good work of the Holy Childhood of which he was so long the Director. There was an indescribable magnetism in those little notes which in the oldest of us who knew him long ago, evoked sweet thoughts of the past, like the memory of an old song heard away from home or the recollection of an old love long dead. And many a time it brought the tear to the eye of him who received it. It said "remember the days of your innocent boyhood when

you listened in the college chapel to the silver tones of my voice reciting with you the well known words of the office of the Blessed Virgin: *Beata mater et intacta virgo, gloriosa Regina mundi, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum*, and for the sake of those days help me to save from perdition the outcast heathen children of the East." His appeal was never in vain. This simplicity made him so attractive to boys and so successful with them. His heart and mind never grew old. Well might he successfully manage the St. Aloysius Sodality for the very spirit of Aloysius was in him; well did he succeed in controlling the Senior Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, for the spirit of her Infant Son ruled his life. Even the old in the other societies felt the spell of this saintly simplicity, and obeyed him because of the candor, honesty and sincerity of his simple heart. This simplicity was the great virtue, the great attraction of the man. It made his whole life like a meadow in the charming Spring time in his native land, full of bright verdure and of flowers whose fragrance fills the air. And it was from the well spring of Jesuit asceticism that like another Aloysius he drew the draughts which strengthened the simplicity of his character.

Although there have been other fathers in this College and parish greater than he, none has been more successful. He was not a great preacher like Larkin or De Luynes, nor a man of great learning like Thebaud or like the venerable father, (1) his countryman, whom we see before us still lingering on the scene after all his old comrades have gone — to him we all offer our most affectionate sympathy to-day in his special bereavement — ; he was not the intellectual equal of Shea or of Dandurand, yet his works are more enduring than theirs; thus teaching us of the clergy the lesson that neither the great scholar nor the great preacher do such permanent good as the humble missionary who faithfully attends to the common every day duties of his calling. Father Thiry's character and works prove that he had formed himself on the models of the first Jesuit dynasty of great men and great saints. If St. Aloysius had lived to be as old as Father Thiry, we could compare them better. In purity, simplicity and innocence of life they are alike. In his executive talent and in the permanency that characterized all the works which he controlled or founded he inherited some of the talent

(1) Father Daubrosse.

of Ignatius. But in his untiring labors, multiplicity of duties, and fervent zeal for the salvation of the young and of children, in his labors in the Sunday School and in teaching Catechism he most resembles the great missionary after whom this Church and College are named. To you, reverend fathers, he has left the example of a holy life based upon your great models of the past ; to the parish he has left the memory of a saintly priest, of one of those who make Christianity respected and the Church loved ; and in us his old scholars and sodalists, his death has revived the memories of early good resolutions and caused their fruitful renewal. It is his example and that of fathers like him in St. Francis Xavier's College that has made the love of its old scholars for the institution grow stronger with age ; and their veneration of its professors perennial.

DANTE AND THE POPES.

DANTE'S hell is not a theological, but a poetical and a political hell. Although his theology, when he teaches, is always correct, yet his judgments on men are often biased by his political theories, and by his resentment of personal injuries. The enemies of his theory of political government and his persecutors he sometimes classifies with the notorious criminals whom all condemned. For him, hell is a place for torment, into which he puts even some popes who, from his standpoint, were false to the true policy of political government, or who had sympathized with the enemies who drove him into exile. Cowardice, avarice or simoniacal practices he reprobates in the successors of St. Peter if the public opinion of his time considered them guilty of disgracing the Apostolic See, and consequently of giving scandal to the Church.

The poet could do that in a work whose publicity was necessarily restricted, without exciting much surprise in an age when there

were no newspapers to spread scandal, when the whole of Europe was Catholic, and when a family quarrel, no matter how bitter, was usually fought and settled inside the household of the faith. In that age, an ordinary sinner under the censure of the Church, although he might rail and fight and make political warfare of a schismatical character against ecclesiastical authority, seldom thought of becoming a formal heretic ; for heresy was universally ranked in public opinion with blasphemy and atheism and for what it really is, one of the greatest sins : treason against God and against society. What Dante thought of the sin of treason is shown in the fact that he plugs the outlet of hell with the most infamous traitors and rebels known to history and theology : with Brutus and Cassius, who betrayed the head of the state ; with Judas, who betrayed the Divine Founder of the Church ; and with Lucifer, who rebelled against the Almighty in heaven. In Dante, There was nothing of the rebel or traitor to the Church no matter how sorely he suffered from injustice or how deeply he deplored scandals. He was virtuous and reverent, and hence his faith was protected.

His loyalty to the Holy See, his respect for papal authority, his veneration of St. Peter and of the office held by his vicars, are shown even when he condemns the personal failings of some of them. His high ideal of what the successor of St. Peter should be, makes the poet deal severely with those whom he thinks have fallen below that ideal. Besides this explanation of his treatment of some of the popes, we should remember that his constant study of Virgil had filled his imagination with the dreams of a restored Roman Empire; that influenced by this dream he became a Ghibelline and hated the Guelphs, who were usually anti-imperialists, and whose chief supporters at the time were Popes Boniface VIII. and Clement V., for a time dominated by French influence. But Dante, in his attacks on these and other popes, always distinguished the office from the man. Even in Boniface VIII. he revered the successor of St. Peter, and the Vicar of Christ.

In proof of these statements we might cull passages from each of the three parts of the "Divine Comedy." Let us begin with a passage from the second canto of the *Inferno*, v. 25. (1)

(1) I use Cary's translation for convenience, although it never does justice to the original, either in matter or in form.

**" Both which, if truth be spoken, were ordained
And 'stablished for the holy place, where sits
Who to great Peter's sacred chair succeeds. "**

Rome, he intimates, was made the centre of the world by Almighty God that the Vicar of Christ might rule there.

Again, *Inferno* XIX, v. 91, et seq :

“ Tell me now what treasures from Saint Peter
at the first
Our Lord demanded, when he put the keys
Into his charge ? Surely he asked no more
But ‘ Follow me ! ’ ”

In *Inferno*, Canto XXVII, v. 99, he represents Boniface VIII., to whom he was unfriendly, as saying :

“ Heaven, as thou knowest, I have power to shut
And open : and the keys are therefore twain,
The which my predecessor meanly prized. ” (1)

In the Purg. XIX, v. 126, where he meets Pope Adrian V. (Ottobuono dei Fieschi) the poet says :

“ My knees I stooped, and would have spoken ;
but he
Ere my beginning, by his ear perceived
I did him reverence ; and ‘ What cause, ’ said he

(1) Bell's London edition of Carey puts « no » before « power » and thus maliciously or inadvertently falsifies the text.

' Hath bowed thee thus ? ' ' Compunction, ' I
rejoined,
And inward awe of your high dignity. ' "

In the *Purg.* Canto IX, v. 108, he describes the angel guardian of the gate of purgatory, who symbolizes the confessor, and inferentially the confessor of confessors, the pope, and says :

" From underneath that vestment forth he drew
Two keys, of metal twain : the one was gold,
It's fellow silver. With the pallid first,
And next the burnished, he so plyed the gate,
As to content me well. "

I have heard that some lecturers on Dante have denied the clear meaning of these words, while Scartazzini and Carey, both Protestants, honestly admit that the two keys represent the authority conferred on Peter. (*Matt.* XVI. 19). The silver key is the wisdom necessary to the confessor, and the gold key is priestly jurisdiction. Dante adds :

" From Peter these I hold, of him instructed
that I err
Rather in opening, than in keeping fast :
Lo ! but the suppliant at my feet implore. "

In *Paradiso* (Canto XXIV, v. 34-39, 109-125) Beatrice answering St. Peter who had

called her sister, beseeches him to interrogate Dante on different points of faith, and says :

“ O, everlasting light
Of him, within whose mighty grasp our Lord
Did leave the keys, which of this wondrous bliss
He bare below ! tent this man as thou wilt,
With lighter probe or deep, touching the faith,
By the which thou didst on the billows walk. ”

In this Canto, Dante makes Beatrice, the symbol of Catholic theology, say that, “among all, St. Peter was in beauty most excelling, ” that from him there issued “ a flame so bright as none were left more goodly there. ” Her prayer, the prayer of Catholic theology, called St. Peter to her side ; and he, as specially illuminated with “ everlasting light, ” and holding the keys of the “ wondrous bliss ” of heaven, proceeds to test the poet’s orthodoxy. Neither St. Thomas, the greatest of the theologians, nor the seraphic St. Francis, whom Dante had met in paradise, presumed to question him on matters of faith, for they had no authority to do so. St. Peter alone had the right to decide questions of faith, and so the poet responds : (V. 59.)

“ May the grace,
That giveth me the captain of the Church
For confessor, ” said I, “ vouchsafe to me
Apt utterance for my thoughts. ”

And again : (V. 122.)

" O saintly sire and spirit ! " I began,
" Who seest that, which thou didst so believe,
As to outstrip feet younger than thine own,
Toward the sepulchre ; thy will is here,
That I the tenor of my creed unfold ;
And thou, the cause of it, hast likewise asked. "

If these passages do not prove Dante's belief in the primacy, supremacy, teaching power and infallibility of Peter, specially illuminated by " everlasting light, " what do they mean ? St. Peter is the " cause " of Dante's faith.

In Canto XXV, *Paradiso*, v. 15, he writes :

" Next from the squadron, whence had issued forth
The first of Christ's vicars on the earth. "

The first of Christ's vicars was Peter, of whom he had just written.

Again (*Paradiso*) (1) St. Bernard tells Dante to behold " as it were two roots unto this rose, " the Blessed Virgin — :

" He to the left the parent, whose rash taste
Proves bitter to his seed. "

This is Adam :

" And on the right
That ancient father of the holy Church,
Into whose keeping Christ did give the keys. "

(1) *Paradiso* xxxii, v. 107-111.

But our great poet does not confine his praises to Peter alone ; he extols the virtues of other pontiffs so that we can plainly see that if he blamed some popes it was purely for political or personal reasons.

Through the mouth of Peter he praises Linus and Cletus : (1)

" Not to this end was Christ's spouse with my blood,
With that of Linus, and of Cletus, fed. "

Then he continues :

" But for the purchase of this happy life
Did Sextus, Pius and Callixtus bleed,
And Urban ; they whose doom was not without
Much weeping sealed. "

He praises Pope St. Sylvester, to give whom territory Constantine passed over from Italy to Greece. The " Roman Eagle " says through the mouth of Justinian : (2)

" The other following, with the laws and me,
To yield the shepherd room, passed o'er to Greece. "

The great Justinian was converted to the true faith by Pope Agapitus ; and Dante thus records the fact with praise for the pontiff. (3)

(1) Canto xxvii, v. 36-40.

(2) Paradiso. Canto xx, v. 50.

3) Paradiso, Canto vi, v. 16, 17.

" But the blessed Agapete,
Who was chief shepherd, he with warning voice
To the true faith recalled me. I believed
His words : and what he taught now plainly see,
As thou in every contradiction seest
The true and false opposed. "

He praises St. Gregory, and in the tenth canto of the *Purgatorio* (1) alludes to the legend that his prayer saved the soul of the Emperor Trajan :

" There was stored on the rock
The exalted glory of the Roman prince,
Whose mighty worth moved Gregory to earn
His mighty conquest, Trajan the Emperor. "

Dante's veneration for the Holy See manifests itself even in the passages where he condemns those whom he specially considered unworthy of their holy office ; thus, addressing Clement V. (2) he writes :

" If reverence of the keys restrained me not,
Which thou in happier time didst hold, I yet
Severer speech might use. "

Although he was a personal enemy of Boniface VIII. the poet denounces the attack on him by Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret at

(1) *Purgatorio*, Canto x, v. 66.

(2) *Inferno*, Canto xix, 100.

Anagni as an outrage on the Vicar of Christ,
and through Hugh Capet says : (1)

" To hide with direr guilt
Past ill and future, lo ! the flower-de-luce
Enters Alagna ; in this Vicar Christ
Himself a captive and his mockery
Acted again. Lo ! to his holy lip
The vinegar and gall once more applied ;
And he 'twixt living robbers doomed to bleed,
Lo ! the new Pilate, of whose cruelty
Such violence cannot fill the measure up,
With no decree of sanction, pushes on
Into the temple his yet eager sails.
O sovran Master ! when shall I rejoice
To see the vengeance, which thy wrath, well-pleased,
In secret silence broods ? "

How aptly these words apply to all the assaults on the papacy made by modern France, especially to those made by the cruel emperor whom God humbled at Moscow and at Waterloo, and by the degenerates who now govern that republic whose punishment is yet to come.

He recognizes the papacy as established by Jesus Christ (2) ; he asserts that the pope is the successor of St. Peter (3) and again (4)

(1) *Purgatorio*, Canto xx. v. 87.

(2) *Paradiso*, Canto xiv, v. 15.

(3) *Inferno*, Canto ii, v. 24.

(4) *Purgatorio*, Canto, xix, v. 96.

where Adrian V. (Ottobuono Fieschi, a Genoese who died A. D. 1276, after a reign of only forty days) thus speaks :

" But me know first,
The successor of Peter and the name
And title of my lineage, from that stream
That 'twixt Chiaveri and Siestra draws
His limpid waters through the lowly glen. "

The poet addresses the pope as the pastor who takes precedence of all, and in the *Purgatorio* (1) he makes Marco Lombardo, in his philosophical disquisitions, call him the " shepherd of the flock. "

In the sixth Canto of the *Paradiso* (2) he calls Pope Agapitus the " supreme pastor, " and in another Canto (3) the pope is the " first, " the chief of the fathers. He recognizes in the pope the power of commuting vows and ranks him with the old and the New Testament as a source of stable faith and of salvation. (4)

" Be ye more staid,
O Christians ! not, like feather, by each wind
Removable ; nor think to cleanse yourselves
In every water, as heretics do. "

(1) Canto xvi, v. 98-102.

(2) V. 16, 17.

(3) *Inferno*, Canto xix, v. 117.

(4) *Paradiso*, Canto v, v. 78,

" You have the old and the new Testament and the pastor of the Church to guide you. This is sufficient for your salvation." These last words are a literal translation, which is more correct than that of Carey. The whole passage is a condemnation of the heretical principle of private judgment, which makes man's religious convictions like feathers blown about by the wind ; and which leads man to drink from poisoned wells ; and is also an assertion of the Catholic doctrine that the Bible and the pope, its authoritative interpreter, are the true sources of certainty and of stability in faith.

He calls the pope " the prefect of the divine forum " (1) ; the " instrument of the Holy Ghost " (2) ; the " true interpreter of holy scripture " (3) ; the " true guide of the faith " (4) ; endowed with the double authority symbolized by the keys (5) to which he often alludes, as in the *Paradiso*, Canto XXIII, v. 130, Canto XXIV, v. 35, Canto XXVII, v. 45, and Canto XXXII, v. 111, of the *Paradiso*.

(1) *Paradiso*, Canto xxx, v. 141.

(2) *Paradiso*, Canto xi, v. 98.

(3) *Paradiso*, Canto v, v. 76.

(4) *Paradiso*, Canto, vi, v. 16-21.

(5) *Inferno*, Canto xix, v. 10, et segg.

The objection is made to what I have thus far written that Dante has put one of the canonized popes in hell and has thus shown his contempt for the papacy and for the authority of the Church. The pope in question is St. Celestine V. who resigned his office on account of its burden and died A. D. 1295. Dante is said to mean him in the words (*Inferno*, Canto III, v. 59-60) "*Vidie conobbi l'ombra di colui che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto* ; " which Carey thus translates :

" I saw
And knew the shade of him who to base fear
Yielding, abjured his high estate. "

Now, even if this text refers to Pope Celestine, it was written before the bull of canonization was published, which was A. D. 1313; but which lay fifteen years in the pontifical archives without being made known to the world at large until A. D. 1328. (1) Dante's poem begins with A. D. 1300.

But does the poet mean Pope Celestine? Many of the best and most ancient commentators deny it. Boccaccio says that no one knows whom Dante meant. The Monte Cassino Commentary says it was the Emperor

(1) See note of Scartazzini on this text.

Diocletian who resigned the imperial purple ; and Benvenuto says it was Esau who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage whom Dante had in mind, and with them so many agree that it was not Celestine, that there can be no certainty in the case, and consequently no argument against Dante's reverence for the authority of the Church.

